

# Nehru Conquers Russia

(A PILGRIMAGE FOR PEACE)

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## Preface

Prime Minister Nehru's recent tour of Soviet Russia will go down in history as a great peace mission. He went there on the invitation of the Soviet Government. The great cordiality with which he was received everywhere in that vast country the frankness with which world peace and allied problems were discussed and the remarkable spontaneity of popular enthusiasm are the main features of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru's two-week tour of the various parts of Russia.

Judging from the immediate and remote effects of this meeting between the foremost leader and statesman of Asia with Russian leaders, there is no doubt that it will ever deserve to be counted among one of the most important contacts made in the interest of humanity. Shri Ganpat Rai has, therefore, done well in compiling all the details of Prime Minister Nehru's Russian tour in chronological order in the form of a handy book. Although the contents of this volume have already appeared in the Press, I am sure this compilation will serve a useful purpose. Besides being a valuable work of reference, this book will provide interesting reading and inspiration to many.

Usually Soviet Russia is referred to as the land of the iron curtain. To know something about that land, its huge industries and its people is nothing short of a treat, particularly when the principal actor in that drama was Shri Jawaharlal Nehru who is an uncompromising democrat and yet broad-minded enough to countenance and give due credit to other systems of governance as well. To hear something from him about Soviet Russia has an importance, political as well as historical. That all this material should be provided in handy readable form is indeed a creditable venture.

I wish the caption of the book were less metaphorical than it is. "Nehru Conquers Russia" has no doubt some glamour and is not altogether divorced from facts in-so-far as he did conquer the hearts of the Russians ; but I think a simpler name might have gone better with the spirit of the "conquerer" and the contents of this book. Nevertheless this book will be widely welcomed as timely and useful.

Banarsi Das Chaturvedi  
Member Indian Parliament

Dedicated  
To  
The Peace Loving Peoples  
of Russia and India

## Pilgrimage Starts

It was he who put before the war-torn world a plea for non-violence in thought and action. He believed firmly that under the severest test his method of non-violence could be more powerful than any nuclear weapon how-so-ever destructive it may be. During his life-time he tried this experiment for the attainment of freedom in India. After his martyrdom the mantle fell on his political heir—Shri Nehru who following the same path is now trying to solve the world problems peacefully. With that end in view he has been to China and then to Indonesia. His triumphal peace mission to Communist and non-Communist countries has achieved an unqualified success. His talks with the Russian leaders and speeches delivered there, his stay in Poland and a short visit to Austria, his seven-day discussions with Marshal Tito, his audience with the Pope and talks with the Italian leaders including newly sworn-in Premier and finally his prolonged heart to heart talks with the British Prime Minister, and a brief stay in Egypt while returning to India, culminating in joint statements issued during his tour are now historic landmarks. In the presence of these statements the world shall have to pause before taking a step which may lead to war.

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enslaving. Russia remained unconquered though German armies were there for more than two months. It was left to Shri Nehru to perform a miracle. He went there alone, on a mission of peace and succeeded in conquering the hearts of Russians, though while doing so he had to leave a part of his own heart behind. His public speech at Moscow Stadium where one lakh people heard him in pin drop silence, created a deep impression. The joint statement issued by him and the great Marshall has contributed hugely towards eliminating the chances of next war and the success achieved at Geneva conference of "Big-Four" is the immediate result of his efforts. Even before his return to India, Teheran's influential newspaper "Ettelat" while commenting on his tour of Russia wrote that Shri Jawaharlal Nehru "has worked sincerely towards fuller understanding between two camps of today's world. To the critics in the West, who consider him more pro-Communist than any thing else, Nehru's resounding answer was his fight against Communists at home. May be, neutralism will not save the world from another crisis but one man is trying very hard to prove that it can, and the Communists, at least, are endorsing him. Their motives may be purely the self interest involved, but Nehru does not look like a man who would let that prevent him from going further."

The Belgrade newspaper "Politika" speaking of Shri Nehru's role in the world wrote the other day that "his acts, advice and opinions reach far beyond the frontiers of India. It is no exaggeration to say that Nehru is one of the greatest men of the 20th century and that by his reasonable and peaceful attitude he has the great reputation of a man whose words are carefully noted in the world." Even the New York Times conceded that Shri Nehru can play an important part in the resolution of some of the problems with which we are confronted", though it warned against the presumption that "India's Prime Minister could do no good or that he would be completely bemused by Soviet blandishments".

A large number of international problems facing the world today are due to mutual fear and suspicion. All the great countries of the world are afraid of each other and have a keen desire to maintain the peace. It can not be achieved by threats and counter-threats. The surest and the shortest way to do is to start mutual negotiations and with that object Shri Nehru started his pilgrimage. How far his efforts have succeeded, the coming events will prove.

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### LEAVES BOMBAY :

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru took off at 3 p. m. on June 5 from the Santa Cruz airport (Bombay) by an Air India International Super Constellation "Rani of Ajanta" for Prague on his way to Russia. He told reporters who crowded around him shortly before he emplaned that "I am carrying with me wishes and blessings of our Indian people." He was accompanied by his daughter, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Mr. N. R. Pillai, Secretary-General of External Affairs Ministry of the Government of India, Mr. Azim Hussain, Joint Secretary of the Ministry and Mr. N. K. Seshan, Private Secretary to the Prime Minister. The Governor of Bombay, Dr Harekrushna Mahtab, the Chief Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, all Cabinet Ministers of the Bombay Government, Deputy Ministers, heads of the Consular Corps in Bombay and high-ranking civil and military officers were among those who gave a hearty send-off to the Prime Minister at the airport. Hundreds of citizens of Bombay, gathered at the airport, lustily cheered "Nehru Ki Jai." while he was boarding the plane. A polish sculptress, Freda Brilliant who wanted to send a 30 lb bronze bust of Shri Nehru to Moscow as a present to the Russian Government through the Prime Minister was disappointed when Shri Nehru expressed his inability to do so as the "formalities had already been completed." Before his leaving for Russia, he received a message from Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of the Indian Republic in which he sent his best wishes and prayers for his safe and successful sojourn in the U. S. S. R. and other countries of Europe saying that he had the full support of the country as a whole and "we shall be looking forward to your return with fresh laurels won in the cause of peace." In another message the President asked the Prime Minister to convey to the President of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics the greetings and good wishes of the people of India and his own. He said that India's relations with the Soviet Union were fortunately cordial and trusted that Shri Nehru's visit would further strengthen the relations between the two countries.

On his way to Moscow he stopped for 75 minutes at Cairo where he found time to confer with Lt. Colonel Gamel Abdel Nasser, the Egyptian Premier who was present at the airport to greet him. At an informal press conference later, the Indian Premier declined to give any details of his talks with Colonel Nasser. He told correspondents that he was going to Moscow in response to an invitation of a year ago and had no "special

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problems to discuss." He added, "Naturally I will discuss with the Russian leaders the question of world peace and how best to further it. The first step is to try to lessen tension. We have no magic formula but we feel if tension is gradually reduced then it will help our task." Shri Nehru noted there had been some lessening of tension in Europe and to a certain extent in the Far East in the last month or two. He also said he would establish contacts for future trade and economic relations between India and the countries he visited. He had an earnest last-minute conversation with Lt. Col. Nasser before boarding his plane. Other Egyptian leaders, the Indian Ambassador and the envoys of Russia and other Communist nations were at the airport to say "bon voyage".

### AT PRAGUE :

Pt. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, arrived in Prague by air on June 6 for a twentyfour-hour visit on his way to the Soviet Union. Accompanied by his daughter, Mrs. Indira Gandhi he was met by the Czechoslovak Prime Minister, Mr. Viliam Siroky and the Indian Ambassador, Mr. Dharma Virā as he stepped out of a special plane at the airport on the outskirts of the city. Other members of the Czechoslovak Government and Communist Party as well as foreign diplomats, newsmen and a large number of spectators were there to welcome him.

After inspecting a guard of honour at the airport, he said, "I am particularly glad that I can have the chance during this brief stay of meeting leaders of the Government and the country. I wish that the relations of our two countries may be closer and that our contact should grow."

The Prime Minister, Mr. Siroky in his speech welcoming Prime Minister Nehru said :

"The Czechoslovak people have for a long time entertained feelings of sincere friendship towards the Indian people. I am certain that your visit will result in further strengthening of friendly ties between the peoples of India and Czechoslovakia. It will be a positive contribution to the strengthening of peace in the world and of friendship among peoples. We therefore cordially welcome you, Mr. Prime Minister."

After recalling a reference which Mr. Siroky made in his welcome speech, to the problems of world peace, Pt. Nehru said, "Our country has always been and is now devoted to peaceful methods in everything and more especially to the peace of world. In that work we shall always gladly co-operate



Mr. Antonin Zapadocky, President of the Czechoslovak Republic, held a reception in honour of Prime Minister Nehru at Prague during his recent visit. Photo shows the President, (2nd from left) in conversation with Shri Nehru, Mrs. Indira Gandhi is also seen in the picture.



Prime Minister Nehru being welcomed by Mr. V. Siroky,  
Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, on arrival at the  
Prague airport on his way to Moscow.

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with every country." Mr. Nehru said he last visited Prague eighteen years ago. Afterwards Mr. Nehru wearing a fawn Achkan and white cap and breeches, drove with Mr. Siroky in an open car through Prague's streets. He smiled to groups of people waving to him from pavements along the route.

He stopped at Prague for a 24-hour stay only at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Government. A reception in honour of the visit of Prime Minister Nehru was held at the Indian Embassy in Prague that night. Among the guests were the Czech Premier Mr. Siroky, M. Antonin Novotny, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, General Alexej Cepicka, Deputy Premier and Minister of National Defence and M. Zdenek Fierlinger, Chairman of the National Assembly of the Czechoslovakia.

The Czechoslovak Communist Party newspaper "Rude Pravo" in a leading article on the Indian Prime Minister's visit was quoted by the Czechoslovak news agency, as saying: "Mr. Nehru's visit is of great importance for the development of Czechoslovak-Indian relations. We believe that it will contribute to the strengthening of friendly ties between our two countries and to a further strengthening of the cause of peace." The article headed "We welcome the efforts of great India for peace" and said: "India has repeatedly shown that she plays a most important part in the settlement of all burning international problems in the removal of obstacles to the improvement of international relations and the lessening of international tension. India had refused to participate in any of the aggressive blocs set up by the imperialists. India is conducting a policy of active neutrality and participates in all moves towards strengthening peace. The friendly ties between India and all the countries of the peace and socialism camp are steadily strengthening. There are problems on which India and the countries of this camp led by the Soviet Union hold different views. This is due to the difference in their social structure. But this precisely shows that differences in the social system do not prevent the development of friendly ties provided that there is good-will on both sides. Mr. Nehru's visit to Prague proves that the way of peace and friendship can be useful."

The Czechoslovak Prime Minister, Mr. Villiam Siroky with whom he discussed economic problems was at the airport to say good-bye. Mr. Nehru told pressmen that his visit would result in greater co-operation between India and Czechoslovakia.

## CHAPTER TWO

### Reaches Moscow

Shri JAWAHARLAL NEHRU. with his party, reached Moscow by air on June 7 for a 2-week visit as the guest of the Soviet Government. He flew in aboard a special Soviet "Vip" airliner from Prague which had been sent by the Government. Moscow's central airport, a 15 minute drive from the Kremlin, was festooned with Soviet and Indian flags. The silver airliner touched down at 6'01 p. m. (Moscow time). The entire diplomatic corps was present. He was given a widely enthusiastic welcome. Crowds lined the streets throughout this distance waving and clapping their hands above their heads and throwing bunches of lilacs, appleblossoms and evergreens. Shri Nehru is visiting the Soviet Union for the first time in 28 years.

As the gleaming silver A-L-14 aircraft with a red star on its tail touched down at the airport, the top Soviet leaders moved forward together with the Indian ambassador, Mr. K. P. S. Menon, and the Soviet ambassador to India, Mr. A. Menshikov, to greet the Indian Prime Minister. Brilliant sunshine lit the airfield as he stepped down from the plane on the red carpeted stairs to be greeted first by Marshal Bulganin, who introduced him, in turn to Mr Khrushchev, Mr. Molotov, Mr. Malenkov and other leaders. Also there were about 40 Soviet Government Ministers, Marshal Zhukov, Marshal Zokollovsky and about 2,000 representatives of Soviet official and cultural organisations. At a pre-arranged signal, 18 children in white shirts and with red sraf of the Soviet Pioneer Children's Organisation raced forward across the tarmac to present the guest with bouquets of flowers in dazzling colours. At one point he was almost submerged in flowers and Marshal Bulganin had to come to his rescue and hand the bouquets to Soviet officials at the airport. Shri Nehru and his daughter Mrs. Indira Gandhi travelled in the personal plane of the Soviet Prime Minister, Marshal N. A. Bulganin a twin-engined Ilyushin sent to Prague from Moscow for them. Other members of his party travelled in another Ilyushin which took off immediately afterwards. All Moscow was impressed by the courtesy shown by him in sending by special plane-before his arrival-a gift of a thousand mangoes to Soviet Premier Nikolai Bulganin, and a sarang for the wife of the Premier. Since he had made known his desire to see the ballet "Swan Lake" during his visit here, Moscow's famous



Prime Minister Nehru and Shrimati Indira Gandhi with a group of children at the Children's rally at the Klement Gottwald Pioneer Palace (children's school) at Prague, during their recent visit to Czechoslovakia.

'Bolshoi' Theatre changed its programme to present "Swan Lake" in the evening, instead of the scheduled opera "Prince Igor". He has declined all invitations to luncheons so that he can adhere to his practice of rising early and sleeping during the afternoon.

In a speech at the airport, speaking in Hindustani, he said that he had wanted for a long time to visit the Soviet Union to see this remarkable celebrated city. Today this desire has been realised and he was very glad to be here. He had come here with the best feeling for the people and Government. He was coming here to get to know them better. He was certain that his arrival would serve the strengthening of friendship between two peoples.

From the airport he drove in an open Zis Limousine through the streets of Moscow side by side with Soviet Premier Nikolai Bulganin to a government country house where he will stay while in the Russian capital. Citizens of Moscow were reminded of the Indian Prime Minister's arrival by Moscow Radio, a few hours before the special Soviet airliner flew in with the Indian Prime Minister from Prague. It was the first time since Victory day 1945 that Moscow crowds had put up such a demonstration of enthusiasm. The two Prime Ministers smilingly acknowledged the cheers of the crowd as they motored through the city.

Shri Nehru's triumphant progress through the Moscow streets was unprecedented. At times the Zis Limousine was forced to move slowly through a narrow passage as the crowds surged forward despite police cordons. As the cars passed along the wide Leningrad Chaussee women ran halfway into the road, to throw bouquets into the lap of the Indian Prime Minister's daughter in the second car also in open coupe. The crowds were lined fifty deep in some places along the Moscow streets. Some of them appeared to have come out of the local factories.

Moscow's main thoroughfare Gorky Street along which all the cars passed was hung with banners high above the road bearing, "Greetings to Prime Minister Nehru; Welcome to you" in both Russian and Hindi. The Soviet Prime Minister is rarely seen driving in Moscow in an open car. The Zis which he shared with the guest and only an interpreter and army officer travelling with them, bore the Indian flag on the left side and the Soviet flag on the right. Marshal Bulganin sat on the left of the Indian Prime Minister.

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Moscow Radio opened its news bulletin on June 7 with the announcement of Shri Nehru's arrival in Moscow. The radio reported at length on the scene at the central airport where government and party leaders were gathered to meet him. As the aircraft landed and Shri Nehru and his party alighted, Marshal Bulganin went forward to meet them, the radio said. Together Marshal Bulganin and Shri Nehru inspected the guard of honour drawn up. He was presented with a bouquet of flowers.

The first car to leave the airport took Shri Nehru and Marshal Bulganin through the decorated streets lined with thousands of cheering Moscovites, the radio said. The Leningard Chaussee and Gorky Street among others were gaily decorated with Indian and Soviet flags and banners bearing slogans of greeting to the Indian Premier in Hindi.

The radio also broadcast a recorded commentary made at the airport describing the arrival of Prime Minister Nehru. Listeners heard Shri Nehru expressing in Hindi his thanks for the warm welcome, when he said: "I have long wanted to come to the Soviet Union, I have long wanted to come to this famous and splendid city. Today this wish of mine is fulfilled. I am very happy to be here. I consider myself to be a traveller. And I have come here as a traveller, bringing best wishes to your government and to your people. I have come here to get to know you better and more and I am confident that my visit will strengthen our relations. I express thanks for the warm and friendly reception accorded to me".

Cheering children of Moscow who had gathered at the airport to have a glimpse of the Indian Prime Minister mistook an Indian with buttoned up coat for the Premier and "showered" their affection on him. The enthusiastic young Moscovites with bouquets in hands rushed forward as the fleet of cars carrying the distinguished visitor and his entourage started moving. The car carrying Shri Nehru had left the airport by then, and the children, mistaking another Indian showered the bouquets on him.

The U.S. Secretary of State Mr. John Foster Dulles said in a comment on the current visit of the Indian Prime Minister Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru to Eastern Europe that the U.S. Government always hoped that such trips would serve the cause of peace. He added, in reply to a question at his press conference that he had no reason to believe that Shri Nehru's trip would result in any contrary consequences.

## TALKS WITH LEADERS BEGIN :

On June 8th Prime Minister Nehru had a 90-minute talk with the Russian Prime Minister, Marshal Bulganin and an hour-long discussion with the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. V. Molotov. He began his discussions with top Soviet leaders when he called on Mr. Molotov at his residence in the outskirts of Moscow. The meeting lasted an hour. He was accompanied by Mr. K. P. S. Menon, Indian Ambassador in Moscow, and Mr. B. K. Kaul Counsellor of the Indian Embassy, who talks Russian fluently. Later, the Indian Prime Minister motored to Marshal Bulganin's villa and was with him for nearly 1½ hours. He went to the mausoleum of Lenin and Stalin in the famous Red Square and laid wreaths there. In the mausoleum which is a cube-like marble structure, the bodies of the two prime architects of modern Russia who are respected throughout the world, were kept embalmed in separate glass enclosures. Stalin looked astonishingly fresh as though he was in deep slumber, his robust body dressed in a Soviet marshal's uniform. Large crowds of Moscovites lined up the Red Square and wildly cheered him as he entered the Kremlin on a sight-seeing visit. More than half the Kremlin was thrown open to the public on the occasion. He also visited the building in which Stalin lived and worked. He then visited graves of famous Russian leaders whose ashes were deposited in separate vaults buried on the walls of the Kremlin. At Kremlin museum he spent nearly two hours, seeing ancient armoury, royal coaches, clothes, and jewellery of romanoffs.

His talks with the topmost Soviet leaders seemed to have been devoted to preliminary survey of international situation particularly in South East Asia region, which according to him has somewhat eased following the Bandung conference which enlarged India's Panch Shilla and laid down peaceful negotiations as means of settlement of international disputes. The Indian Premier who attended the Bandung conference, it is gathered, gave a first-hand information of important discussion at Bandung and also the gist of Chou-En-lai Krishna Menon talks at Peking recently. On the other hand London is surprised at the warmth of welcome extended to Shri Nehru. It is pointed out that not since the triumphant return of explorer Papanin from North Pole have the streets of Moscow known anything like what was seen on Shri Nehru's arrival. It was a true opening of Moscow's heart to 'the man of peace from India', was the comment.

As should be known to all concerned, the Indian Prime Minister has not come here to put through any political deal or make the Soviet Union more acceptable to the West. He is here, as he said, as "a pilgrim" and the pilgrim has made progress. Moscovites react to Shri Nehru and India with considerable enthusiasm, warmth and friendship. As a nation, which went through a great deal of misery caused by war, the Russian people react at once with friendship and affection to whoever sponsors the cause of peace.

Generally, the people here are not very conscious politically or politics is not an obsession. There is little of it and what is there is restricted to the official line. An oldtimer here said there had been a remarkable change internally during the past few months. Economically and otherwise, things have improved. There is less tension. The people are well-fed. Moscow's main thoroughfares are humming with traffic. Automobile traffic is fairly heavy as one would see any evening in Bombay or Calcutta. There is no dearth of fashion. Cinemas are crowded and incidentally, most of the Moscow cinemas are screening Indian films such as "Do Bigha Zamin" and "Awara". With so many delegations from various countries visiting the Soviet Union, an Indian here is no rarity. But visit of Shri Nehru is an event, the importance of which if not the implications, would appear to be well-understood by the people here.

At night the top leaders dined at the Indian Embassy with Shri Nehru and discussed world affairs over a traditional Indian dinner. Indian Embassy sources said the chief Soviet guests at the dinner were Marshal Bulganin, Soviet Premier, Mr. N. Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, Mr. V. Molotov, Soviet Foreign Minister, and other six members of the Presidium of the Soviet Communist party. Extra police diverted the traffic as Shri Nehru and the Soviet leaders drove to the embassy. They were expected to have a general conversation covering all aspects of world affairs which were earlier touched upon during courtesy calls paid by Shri Nehru on Marshal Bulganin and Mr. Molotov and at a two-hour luncheon given by Mr. Molotov. This luncheon was also attended by top Soviet leaders. Mrs. Indira Gandhi and the Indian ambassador's wife were also at the dinner. Indian sources said the menu consisted mostly of Indian food, including curry and mangoes, specially flown from India. The dinner at the Indian Embassy given in honour of Prime Minister Nehru was "unique", diplo-

matic quarters said. For the first time, all the members of the Soviet Presidium, including President Voroshilov, were present at one function. Mr. Molotov, the Foreign Minister, who left at 3 a.m. for San Francisco to attend the tenth anniversary celebrations of the United Nations stayed on at the dinner till 11 p. m. Proposing the toast to Marshal Voroshilov, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., Prime Minister Nehru conveyed the message of good wishes from Dr. Rajendra Prasad, India's President, in Hindi. The President's message read : "I wish to convey to your Excellency greetings and good wishes of the people of India and my own. We believe that peace is essential for the progress and prosperity of all the countries and peoples of the world, and it should be the duty of all men and women of goodwill all over the world to help the noble efforts being made to maintain it. Our relations with Russia are fortunately cordial, and we trust that your visit on a mission of goodwill and peace will be rewarded by further strengthening of friendly relations between our two countries and in carrying forward the movement for peace."

The Indian Ambassador said, "The Soviet leaders had enjoyed the Indian dishes very much especially the mangoes, which some of them had never seen before. We had to show them how to eat them." Mr. Menon presented Mr. Molotov with a bag of mangoes to take with him on his journey to San Francisco, where he was scheduled to go soon after. A crowd of about one hundred people waited for four hours outside the Embassy to see Shri Nehru. After the Soviet guests had left, Shri Nehru saw the crowd on the other side of the road and with his daughter walked over to speak to the Russians, many of them being children.

As they saw him cross the road towards them, the crowd burst in-to shouts of "greetings to you, Prime Minister Nehru." The spontaneous action of Shri Nehru in walking over to them delighted the Russians, who rarely see any thing so impromptu in Moscow. After they had clapped and cheered for several minutes, he addressed the crowd briefly in English which was translated into Russian, saying :—

"I am very grateful for this welcome. I am sorry I have kept you waiting all this time."

The crowd roared back : "We are very happy to see you Mr. Nehru."

Then the Prime Minister, looking tired after his heavy

Moscow programme, drove off to the country house, fifteen miles outside Moscow, where he is staying.

The crowd stood on the pavement waving after him, still bewildered by the fact that Shri Nehru had taken the trouble to come out to see them.

## SPEECHES AT BANQUET :

PRIME Minister Nehru told the Russian leaders at a banquet given in his honour by Premier Bulganin that the Soviet Union had great responsibilities which were shared today by a few other countries. Pandit Nehru replying to Marshal Bulganin's toast, said the honour done to him was more to his country and the people than to his individual self. Nevertheless he was overwhelmed ever since he came to this country. He said "I have seen a strong desire in your people and the government for peace. I can say that my people echo that desire, as I believe that the people in other countries want peace. Sometimes, it seems to me that while peoples talk of peace their actions sound rather warlike. I should like to congratulate your people and the Government, more especially in the recent past, for the steps taken in furtherance of peace and removal of tension. I earnestly hope that your steps and efforts as well as efforts of other countries will meet with success, for the world, far too long has been hungering for peace. So far as we in India are concerned we stretch out our hand of freindship to your people and country as it is stretched out to other countries.

"We have no enemies in this world: we want to be friends with all, even though sometimes they may not be good to us. We think the right approach some-time or the other will bring right result in response. We think peoples who work for peace are bound to create an atmosphere for peace. I know very well that India is a country which recently won independence and has no military power. Our voice is not a loud voice. We speak in a soft gentle voice because that is the tradition of India. I believe that a gentle voice produces more effect.

"Your great country has great achievements to her credit for work for peace and in challenge to war. With the great powers' greatness goes great responsibility. That great responsibility of yours is shared today by numerous countries. I have no doubt that this responsibility would be used for a good cause, for the cause of peace. Time has come I



Prime Minister Shri Nehru, inspecting a guard of honour after his arrival at the airport at Moscow. Alongside Pandit Nehru is Marshal Bulganin, the Soviet Premier.



Prime Minister Nehru speaking at a banquet given in his honour by Marshal Bulganin at Kremlin, Moscow.

think, when it may be propitious for us to make efforts for peace.

"I have heard threats and counter-threats of armed might yet I believe every intelligent person realises that war does not settle any question. I think time has come to shed fear, suspicion and threats of war and turn one's eye to the arts of peace and co-operation. I hope the hands stretched out for peace would be held by others. Great problems are not solved suddenly; there is no magic. We have to work hard continuously and step by step to reach the goal. The immediate step is to lessen tensions of the world; lessen some of fears and suspicions of the world. It is definitely true that the lessening of tension to a large degree will be result of steps taken by the Soviet Union."

The entire Soviet High Command including the chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, senior officers of defence forces, diplomatic corps and elite of Moscow attended the reception which was held in the historic St. George Hall in the Kremlin—an ornate place with 17th century chandeliers hanging and with the names of those who had won decorations of St. George from the Czars carved on marble pillars.

Marshal Bulganin, who spoke first during the five-hour banquet which began with a 90 minute concert by some of Russia's leading artists, proposed a toast to "the well-being of the great Indian people" coupled with Nehru whom the Soviet Prime Minister described as a "great leader of his people." Shri Nehru's toast in reply was to Marshal Bulganin and "all peace-makers of the world." Marshal Bulganin said Mr. Nehru was "a man who fights for peace." Every body knows the leadership exercised by Shri Nehru in the cause of peace. Since achieving independence India had played more and more important role in the situation in the Far East. With the participation of the Indian Government and people as well as that of China and Russia, even unpleasant to all people, such as the Korean and Indo-China wars were halted. The Government of India together with the Government of Chinese People's Republic and our government are taking all possible measures in order to ease the tension of the East Coast of China in the region of Taiwan. (Formosa)." Marshal Bulganin referred to efforts made by India's representative, Mr. Krishna Menon to achieve a settlement of the Formosa problem and said, "Let us hope our joint efforts will ease the tension of the East Coast of China." I also want to stress "the active role" of India in the United Nations.

As he raised his glass to drink Shri Nehru's health, Marshal Bulganin proposed the "prosperity and success" of India as well. Marshal Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev, who was sitting at Shri Nehru's right hand, clinked glasses with the Indian Prime Minister and then rose from their seats to drink with the Indian Prime Minister's daughter. Marshal Bulganin and Mr. Gromyko stood at the entrance of the hall to receive the guests. Inside the hall the guests gathered in an oval shape formation while members of the Presidium led by Marshal Voroshilov stood near the doorway. After introductions, the reception began with varied entertainment by Soviet Union's top-most artistes. Later, they adjourned to dinner in the adjacent hall where the Czars used to receive foreign ambassadors. Some guests were sitting while the rest had buffet dinner. On the left of Shri Nehru sat Marshal Bulganin, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Marshal Voroshilov, Mr. K. P. S. Menon, Mr. N. R. Pillai, Cabinet Ministers and Mr. Azim Hussain of the Indian External Affairs Ministry. To the right of Shri Nehru sat Mr. Khrushchev, Mr. A. I. Mikoyan and Mr. Malenkov. At a table put at right angle, sat church dignitaries and the Imam and the senior officials and diplomats. After dinner and toasts Marshal Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev conducted Shri Nehru and his party round some of the apartments of the Kremlin. One of them was a huge rectangular hall where the Supreme Soviet meets. When some Indian guests sat on benches, Marshal Bulganin said: "All of you are now elected to the Supreme Soviet!" The guests were next taken to the rooms where the Empress lived. After seeing off Shri Nehru, Mr. Malenkov and Mr. Khrushchev turned to the porch where some Indians were standing, bid a neat 'namaste' with folded hands and took leave of them. All Soviet leaders wore informal dress except for Marshal Zhukov who was in service uniform. They were of average height, well built and appeared completely relaxed. Mr. Khrushchev, who is the party chief is short, stocky and the thickest. He has a mischievous twinkle in his eyes and tends to be expansive.

Foreign Ambassadors sat at eight tables radiating from the top table and dined like Shri Nehru and Government leaders of the large selection of Russian cold dishes or fish and then rounded off by the ice cream. Mrs. Khrushchev was wearing light blue dress with a V-neck and Mrs. Malenkov, sat together at the table close to Government leaders and Shri Nehru. They entered the dining room arm in arm. Mrs. Malenkov, who was dressed in royal blue, wore a double string of pearls around her neck. Mrs. Khrushchev, greying and several years older

than Mrs. Malenkov, a brunette, wore a simple brooch as her only jewellery.

Marshal Bulganin and Shri Nehru talked continuously through interpreter during the meal which ended shortly before mid-night after their formal speeches.

As government leaders and Shri Nehru passed out of the dining hall the band began to play a Viennies waltz. Marshal Bulganin took the Prime Minister and his daughter up to the white walls of the nearby St. George Hall and showed them engraved names of the pre-revolutionary regiments and officers who distinguished themselves in the war and received the Georges Cross, the highest Tzarist reward for gallantry. As they walked across the room Mr Khrushchev took Indian Prime Minister by the arm and led him into the Supreme Soviet hall and up to the dais where the Government leaders sit during sessions. As Shri Nehru and Soviet leaders said goodnight Mr. Khrushchev pressed his hands together in front of his face and bowed in Indian style salute gesture which he learned from Shri Nehru. "Pt. Jawaharlal has already captured the hearts of Soviet people", such remarks from a number of Russians seem to indicate the great popularity of the Indian Prime Minister in Moscow within 48 hours of his arrival on Soviet soil. Moscovites seem to have been so enthusiastic about him that it has become well-nigh impossible for him to move about unnoticed in Moscow streets as in Indian cities. Large crowds throng the streets where he goes and spontaneous shouts of "Long live Indo-Soviet friendship" and prolonged cheers rent the sky the moment he is seen approaching. Whether on an official visit to Kremlin or going round factories or exhibitions or attending ballets, opera or on sight-seeing, thousands and thousands of Soviet men, women and children are there, waiting eagerly for hours to see him. Rain did not make them budge an inch at the automobile factory nor did the four-hour dinner inside the Indian Embassy make them lose patience nor did the strictest police cordons keep them away in their marked place. They would wait endlessly for him if only to have a glance for a split second. A foreign journalist remarked that during his pretty long experience in Moscow he had never seen Moscovites run "literally mad". He explained his reasons that, "Nehru talks peace, walks as fast as the young Moscow worker walks and smiles with the innocence of a child and at his age exhibits energy that a young man half his age will envy."

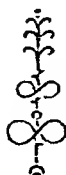
An official, who attended the luncheon which the Soviet

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Foreign Minister, Mr. Molotov gave to Prime Minister Nehru, said that function was most interesting and quite informal. There were the inevitable toasts, nearly a dozen of them but the important thing was the speech which Mr. Molotov made on Indo-Soviet friendship. Soviet leader emphasised not only India's efforts to keep out of war but her assiduous endeavour to create an era of peace which found a ready echo there.

A special newsreel "arrival of Indian Prime Minister Nehru in Moscow," was shown on the Moscow television network and in Moscow's cinemas, it was later on reported. The film, produced by the Central Documentary Film Studio in Moscow, shows Shri Nehru's arrival at the central Moscow airport, and Moscow streets lined with endless rows of Moscovites greeting the Indian Prime Minister, and in him the friendly Indian nation.

Prime Minister Nehru's visit to the Soviet Union is of great significance for international understanding and easing world tension, said an article published in Peking's "People's Daily". "The Chinese people whole-heartedly welcome the Indian Prime Minister's visit and the growth of friendly Soviet-Indian relations," the article said.



## CHAPTER THREE

### Among Workers and Scholars :

Prime Minister Nehru paid a courtesy call on the Soviet President, Mr. Voroshilov on the 9th. This call on the Marshal at his office in the Kremlin was followed by a two hour visit to a Moscow aircraft factory. Indian journalists accompanying the Premier were told that the factory produced both civilian and military aircraft. When approached, the factory manager told Shri Nehru they had slowed down manufacture of military aircraft as they were not getting enough orders and production now was mainly for civil aviation, spare parts and agricultural machinery. They had only one design for civil aircraft with seating capacity for eighteen passengers. They turned out about five civilian planes a month. The manager could not say how many such factories were there in the Soviet Union or their capacity.

Pandit Nehru said he was no expert in the aircraft industry but only wanted to know the growth of the industry as this factory was put up 25 years ago. He was then conducted through the various sections of the plant and he saw two completed aircraft and some military planes. The factory chief gave a demonstration of "bombing operations" when two stationary aircraft dropped "bombs" of assorted sizes in a pit. A large number of workers who had lined up Shri Nehru's route, both inside and outside the factory, gave him a big ovation as he went in and later returned from the factory.

Prime Minister Nehru then visited a five-storeyed clinic for factory workers. As he left the clinic, he was greeted by a big crowd on the roadside.

The same day Prime Minister Shri Nehru visited the U. S. S. R. agricultural exhibition which illustrates the development of Socialists agriculture in the Soviet Russia. In the mechanisation and electrification of agriculture pavilion, Shri Nehru paid special attention to the new Soviet cotton picking machines and the motor vehicles noted for excellent road performances. The guests also visited the water resources pavilion and examined exhibits illustrating the construction of powerful hydro-electric stations. Shri Nehru took interest in the new system of irrigation in the Central Asian Republic which makes it possible to mechanise all work on irrigated sections, and the latest techniques in feeding and distribution of water in irrigation networks. In the visitors

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book Shri Nehru made the following entry. "This is a wonderful exhibition and I am only sorry that I have not spent more time here".

Prime Minister Nehru paid his second visit to Kremlin on June 10 in the afternoon to meet the Soviet Prime Minister, Marshal Bulganin and other Russian leaders. The meeting lasted nearly two hours. Shri Nehru was accompanied by Mr. K. P. S. Menon, Mr. N. R. Pillai, Secretary General of the Indian External Affairs Ministry, Mr. Kaul, First Secretary of the Indian Embassy here, and Mr. Azim Hussain, Joint Secretary of the Embassy. Apart from the courtesy call on Wednesday and meetings at social functions, this Nehru-Bulganin meeting was their first formal discussion. It is expected to be followed by more extensive discussions after his ten-day Soviet Union tour. In the evening, Mr. K. P. S. Menon held a garden party in honour of Shri Nehru in the Embassy lawns.

A large number of eager Moscovites jostled and clung round Prime Minister Nehru when he went on a joy ride in an under ground railway in the Russia capital today. As the Indian Prime Minister went down the escalator in the Metro station, Russian passengers who had gathered at the station were quick to recognise him. They rushed towards his compartment to have a look at him. Shri Nehru chatted with the passengers during his brief travel and got down at the fourth station from where he motored to the Moscow University.

### VISIT TO MOSCOW UNIVERSITY.

In this great Russian seat of learning housed in a gigantic 30-floor building, about 20,000 students are studying. The dean of the university told Shri Nehru that some 6,000 students were residential scholars while the rest were day scholars. Most of the students came out of the lecture halls and surrounded Shri Nehru rendering his passage difficult. After going round the different departments of the university, Shri Nehru wrote in the Visitor's Book, "This is a magnificent university, so big and various that it is difficult to grasp it during a brief visit but one is impressed by its conception and carrying out the ideal. I hope that it will produce young men and women who are big in mind and heart".

The rector of the University, Mr. Petrovsky, the Minister of Higher Education in the Soviet Union, Mr. V. Elyutin, and the Deputy Minister of Higher Education, Mr. V. Prokofiev



Prime Minister Nehru studying the inscribed tabloids on the walls of the Kremlin, under which the ashes of the leading revolutionists are interred. With Mr. Nehru are Sri N. R. Pillai, Sri K. P. S. Menon, and Mr. M. A. Menshikov, Ambassador for the U. S. S. R. in India, and others.



Prime Minister Nehru recording his impressions in the Visitors' Book at the "Oruzhelnaya Palata", Museum in Kremlin during his recent visit to the place

and M. V. Stoletov greeted Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and his party. Shri Nehru was particularly interested in how foreign languages were taught in the university and in the system of examinations. After a talk, Academician Petrovsky presented him with a jubilee medal issued on the bicentenary of the university as well as books in which the history of the university is described and jubilee insignia. In the graduation hall, the students gave the Indian leader an ovation.

The Prime Minister addressed them in the following few words: "I am glad to greet you. Your country is very big. But what does the greatness of a country mean compared with the greatness of the mind and heart of your people." He expressed the conviction that the university accomplished the task not only of strengthening friendship between the people of the Soviet Union but of the whole world. The Indian Premier was presented with a bronze medal of the founder of the university. He was also given a Russian translation of the book on geology by the Indian author Dr. M. S. Krishnan, which is a text-book in Moscow university.

### STALIN AUTOMOBILE PLANT

Workers of Moscow pushed each other to get near Mr. Nehru, broke police cordon and mobbed him when he visited the Stalin automobile plant. The warmth of the spontaneous welcome was quite apparent when two hours before Shri Nehru was scheduled to visit the factory the approaches to it were fully occupied by people. The factory, which employs nearly 40,000 workers is said to be the oldest and biggest automobile undertaking. More than half of its workers are women. There are eight such factories in the Soviet Union. The Stalin automobile factory turns out 400 vehicles of all types daily.

Replying to a number of questions which Shri Nehru put, the factory manager said that the current production was not enough to meet the demand. Seventy per cent of the cars produced went to private consumers while the rest were taken by the State. The factory manufactured more trucks than cars and met defence requirements as well. They had few foreign specialists working in various plants, he said. As the party went round the plant which is spread over some acres, workers rushed forward enthusiastically from their lathes and cheered Shri Nehru. The plant itself did not give a stream lined or polished appearance. Parts of it were old, of British or United States origin; but the red workers are

now making machines which will turn out automobiles. Two huge lathes made in this factory, with instructions in Chinese characters were shown. These are for export to China. As Shri Nehru was about to leave the factory, a large number of workers came out of various shops and raised lusty cheers. Two of the factory executives following Shri Nehru wiped forehead exclaiming, "Your Prime Minister walks too fast."

### VISIT TO SCHOOL

Prime Minister Nehru and his daughter, Mrs Indira Gandhi on June 10 visited a children's school in Moscow. On behalf of the Indian school children, Shri Nehru accepted the greetings of the young pioneers. Shri Nehru's daughter said that she was "happy to have this opportunity to widen the two countries' knowledge of each other." Shri Nehru then with his party visited the Indian Cultural Exhibition where he was received by Academician M. Gerasimov.

V. Ilyin, Director of School N. 545, Moskvoretsky District Moscow writes about the visit of India's Prime Minister to his School:—June 10 will always remain in the memory of the teachers and pupils of School. On that day we were visited by Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, his daughter Mrs. Indira Gandhi and those accompanying him. We were happy to see amongst us the representative of the friendly country and prominent champion of peace. We gladly showed dear guest everything of interest to him; the school's plot of land, the gym hall, class rooms, laboratories and work-shops. The young Pioneers presented the Prime Minister with an album of illustrations from school life, and as a token of deep respect, tied a red Pioneer's tie round his neck. Shri Nehru presented the young Pioneers with a sandalwood baton and wrote a warm and friendly message in the School's Visitors' Book.

"This School like tens of thousands of other schools in the U.S.S.R. was built in 1935 in the years of Soviet power. It has a fine, big building with spacious classrooms, workshops, laboratories, gym and assembly halls with a stationary sound projecting machine and its own radio relay station. The physics, chemistry, biology, electrical engineering and machine laboratories, as well as the wood and metal working workshops are supplied with fine machine tools and instruments. Here you find models and visual aids, produced by factories and mills specially for schools. This gives the pupils the chance to see what they are learning, to see machines at work, study

different instruments, make experiments in laboratories, make calculations on machine models, make a practical study of radio and electrical engineering and acquaint themselves with the construction of cars and motorcycles. The school's material basis and its equipment conform to requirements and level of technical development attained by the Soviet Land.

"We see our task not only in providing a wide range of knowledge connected with technique but also to instill in the pupils useful habits in their practical activities. This is attained through contact with production and the study of one or another speciality. Our pupils pay frequent visits to factories and mills where they acquaint themselves with different processes of production. Among the 57 teachers of our school many have been awarded orders and Medals of the USSR for long and irreproachable service. All of them have special pedagogical training and experience in educational work. This School has ten classes attended by boys and girls. These are chiefly children of workers of the nearby enterprises. We try to give the pupils not only profound and sound knowledge but to inculcate in them lofty moral qualities such as love for the Homeland, its people, friendship, love for culture and work as well as respect and love for other peoples and their national culture. Our correspondence with foreign friends, visit to exhibitions, cinemas and reading of books give us an idea of the life and struggle of the other peoples for their independence, for peace and democracy.

"In our educational work we make use of the rich heritage left over to us, Soviet teachers by Anton Makarenko. The chief thing in his pedagogy is education of the children in the group through the group and for the group. That is why we pay so much attention to work with the children's group trying to develop the initiative and self-activity of the pupils and direct it towards aiding studies and all educational activities. Based on the principle of self-activity, the Young Pioneer organisation unites almost all the school-children between the ages of 9 and 14. The Young Pioneer detachment and units conduct interesting work. The children visit museum and exhibitions, go on excursions to factories and mills, and help families of fallen servicemen and war invalids. The older children direct various groups, sports, put out the wallnewspaper, and organise the school's broadcasts. They also equip the workshops and keep the laboratories and sports grounds in order. Extensive extra-curricular and extra-school activities are conducted.

"The following groups function during the present school year: radio and electrical engineering, cinema mechanics, car and motorcycle, photography, dramatics, reciting choral and dozens of sports sections. Our children's groups won over fifty honorary certificates and six cups in sports competitions. During the 1954-55 school year lectures were organised for the senior classes on atomic energy and its application for peaceful purposes, history of calculation technique, about the great Russian writer Leo Nikolaevich Tolstoy, on music and its expressive means, and the people who travelled to China, Britain, Poland and other countries told our pupils about their impressions. Films are shown for the younger and group visits to theatres are arranged. The pupils also went to the USSR Agricultural Exhibition. During the spring we held a school spartakiad which revealed the best sport groups and school champions in track and field events, gymnastics and games. That was a wonderful sports holiday which was attended not only by the children but by their parents as well. Such events have become a tradition in our school. The school children love gardening. In the autumn and spring they replanned the garden and replanted many fruit trees and berry bushes. The school's orchard has been bearing fruit for several years already. Hotbeds have been built this year. The parents' committee elected at a parent's meeting renders the school much assistance in its work."

He then visited the Indian art gallery where a number of Indian paintings and paintings of Russian artists on India, and a collection of old embroideries and palm leaf manuscripts were on display. There were also four paintings of the Indian Prime Minister in the gallery. After viewing the exhibition, he made the following entry in the visitors' book: "I am amazed and happy to see this wonderful collection." A Gerasimov, President of the Soviet Academy of Arts presented the guests with albums and books. He then visited a secondary school where children gave him a great ovation. A young girl presented him with a bouquet and tied a scarf round his neck. Impressed with the smartness of the girl, Pandit Nehru handed over the sandal wood baton which he carried with him to the girl.

## AT A BALLET :

Before leaving for tour of the country, Shri Nehru got time to have a two-hour talk on "world affairs in general" with the Soviet Premier, Marshall Nikolai Bulganin. It was

their first formal discussion. Soviet Deputy Premiers Kaganovich and Mikoyan also took part in the meeting between Shri Nehru and Marshal Bulganin, together with Deputy Foreign Ministers Gromyko and Kuznetsov. Mr. M. A. Menshikov, the Soviet Ambassador to India, was also present.

Marshal Bulganin who is 60 later accompanied Shri Nehru to a ballet at the Bolshoi Theatre. The Indian hymn was sung in Hindi. The audience warmly greeted Prime Minister Nehru and the leaders of the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet Government. After the performance Marshal Bulganin, Marshal Voroshilov, Shri Nehru and Mrs. Indira Gandhi accompanied by Mr. Mikailov, Soviet Minister of Culture, and Mr. Chulaki, Director of the Bolshoi Theatre, went on the stage while the audience made an ovation in honour of the leaders of the Soviet Government and of Shri Nehru, it was stated. The Indian leader to show his admiration for the performance presented Madame M. Plisetskaya who played the main role in the ballet, a bunch of flowers.

## LEADERS' REACTIONS :

Asked for his comments on Shri Nehru's talks Mr. Khrushchev replied, "I personally am very satisfied with the contact established. I think it is a very good thing that Shri Nehru came. There are no points of discord which separate India and our country and there will be no such points. We have many things in common and this makes our friendship stronger." It was a memorable evening for many of the numerous guests who attended the garden party given by Mr K. P. S. Menon in honour of the Indian Prime Minister in the Embassy lawns. Most members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, who were present, freely mixed with the guests and conversation was easy. Both the Prime Ministers arrived a few minutes late straight from the Kremlin where they had talks. Complete frankness, cordiality and informality prevailed at the Garden Party. The guests tasted some Indian delicacies but the centre of attraction was the Indian mango. Shri Nehru himself picked up a plate and served sliced mangoes to some guests and put some in the plate of Mr. Khrushchev, the Secretary-General of the Russian Communist Party. Few of the dignitaries could talk any thing but Russian and the couple of interpreters present were in great demand. Marshal Bulganin freely mixed with the guests. M. Tovoslan, Ministers of Heavy Industry told

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the pressmen that during tour of the Soviet Union the visitors would have opportunities to see for themselves many of Russia's heavy industrial plants. In regard to the steel plant, which Russia will erect in India the Minister said it was their intention to export to India most modern and up-to-date steel plant.

Marshal Zhukov, the Soviet Defence Minister was rather elusive when pressmen met him. When he was told that it was a great pleasure to meet a distinguished soldier like him Marshal Zhukov said, "There is great deal of exaggeration about me. I am only a soldier and did my duty." Mr. Khrushchev tended to be explosive. "Oh, you are a pressman", he exclaimed. "I must be careful. When I was in Yugoslavia Marshal Tito told me to beware of the press. I see you come from India. Now I can talk. A top Indian is working for peace and so we do. Indo-Soviet co-operation is very necessary and there is nothing which we cannot achieve by mutual co-operation." While he continued his talk Mr. Mikoyan, Soviet Deputy Prime Minister also joined. He asked something in Russian and the conversation derailed. Mr. Malenkov, Minister for Power Stations was holding the fort for a considerable time against the inquisitive Indian pressmen. The conversation began on a personal level. When asked how he managed to keep his looks so young his answer was—hard work. He had no special knowledge of India except from what was published in the press and the personal reports he received from visitors to India. Talking of politics he was asked, "What about the general prejudice against communist parties in other countries that they received support from the Soviet Union"? He said that they naturally sympathised with the communists abroad but that did not mean interference in the internal affairs of others. Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs was the cardinal principle of the Soviet policy. Talking of aid generally, Mr. Malenkov said he had heard aid was not quite popular in some countries and perhaps that applied to India as well. The Soviet Union stressed on co-operation. Marshal Voroshilov, the veteran soldier appeared a kindly looking country gentleman. He and other Ministers obliged many autograph hunters. It was assumed that the presence of Mr. Kaganovich, the industrial specialist and Mr. Mikoyan, the trade chief indicated that the discussion included the possibilities of increased trade with India and Soviet technical assistance for India. The talks continued longer than was expected and Shri Nehru and the Soviet leaders arrived late at the Indian Embassy garden party. Soviet guests joined Shri Nehru in drinking orange



Prime Minister Nehru and Mrs. Indira Gandhi being conducted round the Moscow underground railway.



Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru arrived in Stalingrad during his tour of Soviet Russia. Mrs. Indira Gandhi is also seen in the picture. On the extreme right is Mr. Shapurov, Chairman of the Stalingrad City Soviet.

and grapefruit juice and they stayed almost an hour talking with other guests and walking around the garden in even freer and more talkative mood than had been seen recently at various diplomatic receptions in Moscow. Mr. Kaganovich and Marshal Voroshilov, the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, who were also present at the garden party exchanged jokes with Western reporters for ten minutes about "the danger of smoking" and said none of the Soviet leaders smoked except Marshal Bulganin "occasionally in the presence of diplomats." President Voroshilov, politely declining a smoke offered by some one, got plunged into a discussion over the ethics and economics of smoking "I don't understand" said the old guard Bolshevik leader and the head of the Soviet State. "why do big people waste their time and wealth over a little piece of paper wrapping a quantity of tobacco. We, in the Presidium never indulge in this habit except Premier Bulganin on ceremonial occasions." A diplomat standing by at once came out, "But, that is only a small minority." M. Kaganovich, first Deputy Premier, interjected, "But all leading ideas come from minorities only." "What about the central committee of the party", the diplomat persisted in his point. Marshal Voroshilov replied, "We don't raise any discussion on smoking in our party nor is there any ban on smoking". Indian journalists crowded round Marshal Zukhov, Defence Minister, and the war-time defender of Moscow and Stalingrad, and expressed appreciation of his brilliant performance during the war. M. Malenkov standing quietly in a corner was the "next victim" of the correspondents. For half an hour, he answered their questions—both delicate and discreet—with perfect ease. He said personal discussions always helped to remove misunderstandings and one should not, therefore, be shy of pressmen.



this wonderful museum demonstrate the heroism and patriotism of the Soviet servicemen and the city's working people who defended every street and every house and dealt the enemy a crushing defeat. Preserved in the museum of the Tsaritsyn-Stalingrad Defence are gifts presented by many peoples of the world. The name of Stalingrad has become a symbol to them. It personifies heroism and courage, the struggle for peace and democracy. It was here, at the Volga stronghold, that Hitler's hordes, armed to the teeth, were stopped and here they were dealt a crushing defeat unknown in the history of wars. The banner of victory raised over Stalingrad was carried through all the battles and was hoisted over the fascist Reichstag in Berlin. Among the gifts received by the museum are national costumes and valuable articles from the working people of India, crystal from the Czechoslovak people, a banner from the progressive youth of Malaya, a table cloth embroidered by coventry textile workers, a shield from Ethiopia, the sword of honour sent by the late King George of Great Britain, tapestries from China, a ring sent by an ordinary American, as well as many paintings, sculptures, carpets and other articles sent from the various Soviet Republics and foreign countries.

Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, and those accompanying him inspected the museum with great interest on June 11. They walked from stand to stand looking at the photographs of the servicemen and commanders of the Stalingrad defence, at documents pertaining to the days of the heroic battles, and at the map of the street fighting. Shri Nehru's attention was drawn to a painting depicting the crossing of the Volga under enemy fire by the 13 guards division and especially to the famous panorama "rout of the German-fascist troops near Stalingrad." The panorama is the work of the artists Gorpenko, Zhigmont, Marchenko and Andriyak. It has recorded truthfully and painstakingly the final battles for Stalingrad when the Soviet troops closed the ring around a more than 3,00,000 strong grouping of Hitlerites. This panorama carries the visitor to the famous Mamayev Kurgan, a hill in the southern part of the city from which a broad view is had of the fighting. Below is visible the blue ribbon of the Volga which the attacking Soviet units are crossing. In the background beyond the line of Soviet troops one can see the shell-riddled "Pavlov House", in which a handful of Soviet soldiers commanded by Sergeant Pavlov, Hero of the Soviet Union, fought during all the heroic days of the Stalingrad defence against superior enemy forces and defended the important section dominating the nearby locality. The centre of the panorama shows the fighting near the former

oil reservoir. Shells and mines explode and hand to hand combat is in progress. Everywhere can be seen trenches, buildings lying in ruins, smashed military equipment, and groups of fighters. All this leaves an indelible impression. After going through the Museum the Indian Prime Minister Shri Nehru wrote in the Visitors' Book: "I have come here to pay my respects to unvanquished and victorious Stalingrad."

In the city here and there stand out remnants of bombed-out buildings—grim reminder of the horrors through which the city went during the war. The city abounds in memorials of post-war origin. Any one would point out, "in this street a German general was caught and there stands a building from which the defenders fought till all of them fell." After going through the museum Prime Minister Shri Nehru and those accompanying him expressed the desire to visit Mamayev Kurgan. This hill, dominating the city, played an important part in Stalingrad's defence. On September 14, 1942, after stubborn fighting, the enemy broke through to Mamayev Kurgan. The division commanded by General Rudimtsev then stormed the hill and at 7 A. M. on September 16, after heroic fighting, took possession of Mamayev Kurgan. On the following day tanks came to the aid of the Soviet infantry that had entrenched itself there and helped to clear the approaches to the Kurgan of the enemy. Fierce fighting for the possession of this important height continued during the entire heroic defence of Stalingrad. Here literally every metre of the territory was fought for. Mamayev Kurgan constantly changed hands. The entire soil was dug up by the explosion of shells, mines and hand grenades, riddled with bullets and shells, and saturated with the blood of the soldiers. In November 1942 the Soviet troops took possession of almost the entire hill having driven the Hitlerites out of the trenches and of the concrete water settlers which the fascists had turned into pillboxes.

On the frosty morning of January 16, 1943, the historic meeting of the troops of the Soviet Don front attacking from the West and the troops of the 62nd Army marching from the East, from the Volga, took place on the North-Western slope of Mamayev Kurgan. The joining of the Soviet troops here signified that Hitler's forces encircled near Stalingrad were split into two parts. Standing on a pedestal on the spot where the Soviet troops met on Mamayev Kurgan is a "T-34" tank, the first to link up with the 62nd Army. Many Stalingrad defenders have been buried in the common grave on the summit of Mamayev Kurgan. Here stand monuments to the heroes.

Shri Nehru paying homage to the martyrs of Stalingrad who laid down their lives in the defence of the city during the Nazi onslaught in World War II.





Prime Minister Nehru being conducted round the Museum of Defence  
Tsartsin-Stalingrad, during his tour of Soviet Russia.

On Mamayev Kurgan is also a pedestal with a tank tower marking the defence front line of the Soviet troops. The inscription on the pedestal reads as follows : "Here, on Mamayev Kurgan, during the great battle for Stalingrad the most stubborn and sanguinary fighting was done for the possession of this height dominating the city."

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru placed a wreath of roses with a three-coloured ribbon representing the colours of the state flag of the Republic of India on the grave of the fallen heroes of Stalingrad on Mamayev Kurgan, the spot sacred for every Stalingrader. In reverential silence he stood at the resting place of those who gave their lives for the triumph of peace and freedom. After that Prime Minister Shri Nehru and those accompanying him stood for a long time on the summit of Mamayev Kurgan admiring the panorama of reborn Stalingrad and its numerous construction sites.

At a tractor factory which Shri Nehru visited, workers came out of the plant in thousands, blocked the procession of cars which went through the factory compound and surrounded Nehru's car. It was a memorable sight. They hurled bouquets inside the cars. Every one of them wanted to shake hands with Shri Nehru or in lieu any Indian in the party. They were good humoured and above all sincere. Women workers in this factory form 40 per cent of the total, which is a high percentage.

The fleet of cars accompanying Shri Jawaharlal Nehru then passed from the Stalingrad Tractor Plant leaving behind the Mamayev Kurgan, to the largest enterprises of the city and those districts of multi-storey dwellings built on war-devastated sites. From these heights which tower above the city opens out a wonderful view of the wide river and never-ending lands of the Volga area which stretch away to the distant horizon. Part of the construction site of the Stalingrad hydro-electric station, for which he was heading, is clearly seen spread out on the left bank.

At a moorings north of the City SS "Boris Gorbato" was waiting for the Indian guests. In less than 15 minutes the party reached Peschani Island, the centre of construction work. The builders warmly greeted the Indian Prime Minister as he landed. He and his party went to a pit cofferdam and stopped at a small pavilion to look at the model of power station. Here Shri Jawaharlal Nehru was presented with an album with photos of the everyday work, at the construction

site. Yuli Gaevsky, head of the construction work, answered Shri Nehru's questions about the capacity of the station and its structures.

The Indian guests entered an enormous pit whose bottom is now 33—35 metres below the level of the river. Automatic pumps, placed in boxes around the pit pump out the subterranean water. The pit is protected from freshets and floating ice by reliable steel barrier. The party was told that the power station building will be some half a kilometer long and 15-storeys high. The enormous turbines together with the electric generators will constitute colossal units weight 4,000 tons each. It will take four trains with special multi-axle flatcars to ship one of these units. The station will have a capacity of 1,700,000 kw. with an average quantity of water it will send annually some 10,000 million kwhr. of electric power to the industrial districts of the country.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru inspected the machinery in the pit which has completely mechanised concreting work which amounts to 7.5 million cubic metres. A special transporting concrete, a kind of steel bridge more than one and a half kilometres long and 40 metres high, will get concrete to the full length of the station building and to the spillway. Work on the trestle and on other objects in the pit goes on at full speed both by day and by night. The pit is at night illuminated by a large number of searchlights mounted on six towers. Closer to the left bank of the river beyond the earthen cofferdam, the guests inspected foundation for the spillway. Shri Nehru was interested in its dimensions and to what height the water level will rise after work has been completed. A two-way railway and a wide highroad will run at the top of the dam. North of it the water will rise up to 26 metres forming an enormous reservoir—the Stalingrad Sea—over 600 kilometres long and up to 30 kilometres wide.

Shri Nehru asked, "And won't dwellings be submerged, and what will happen to the people living in these areas?" The officer incharge told him that the state is taking due care of the people and their dwellings are being removed from threatend areas at the cost of the state. Architects have designed new settlements. The chief guest displayed interest in the machinery employed at the site. He was told about the powerful suction dredgeds, excavators, bulldozers, scrapers, automotive loaders, gantry cranes and the other machines. The Indian guests were acquainted with the plan of work for 1955. Some 300,000 cubic metres of concrete will

be poured into the main structures, a million cubic metres of earth extracted, tens of thousands of tons of metal parts and armature assembled, several more auxiliary enterprises, including a large plant for the production of facing stone and a ceramic plant will be commissioned. The multi-thousand personnel of the development are successfully coping with this task.

Dwellings are going up on an extensive scale. The Prime Minister was told about the changes that have taken place in the district which four years ago constituted a bare stretch of scorched steppe. Now there stands a big town of the builders with nine schools, four clubs, six libraries, a cinema, a house of technicians, 13 children's establishments, 12 medical stations, two hospitals, nine public baths, five mechanised laundries, and 136 trading establishments. Recently a recreation park and an open air theatre were opened. Some 250,000 trees have been planted along the asphalted street and avenues.

After inspecting the construction site Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and his party board the SS "Boris Gorbatov" and left for the centre of Stalingrad. Before them the panorama of the rejuvenated city stretched on both banks of the great Russian river for a distance of nearly 75 kilometres. Gigantic plants, scientific institutions, never-ending rows of indwellings, parks and gardens slid past. Tower cranes, stand witness to the wide-scale creative life of the twice hero and indefatigably toiling city, a city of two gigantic structures one of which, the Lenin Volga-Don Shipping Canal, was commissioned three years ago. Now on both sides of the Volga in the vicinity of the city the Stalingrad hydro-electric station is going up—one of the largest in the world. Describing a circle the steamer approaches the landing. Thousands of Stalingraders packed the central embankment to extend a warm welcome to the Prime Minister of India. Coming down the companion way Shri Nehru waved them a greeting. A storm of applause and cheers in honour of the friendship of the two great peoples was the response of the Stalingraders to the greetings of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and his party.

Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru, and his entourage visited, on their itinerary through the USSR, the construction site of the Stalingrad power project at the town of Volzhsky, where the power project builders live.

There every 30 minutes a fast snow-white steam launch sheers off from the suburban landing place at the Stalingrad

port for the middle of the Volga river to head northwards. An amazing panorama of a city whose name has become the symbol of unbending valour and grit, unfolds before the eyes of any passenger aboard the launch—and for that matter aboard any vessel, sailing northwards from Stalingrad up the great river. Some 15 to 20 minutes passed since the party pushed off, but the port wharfs are still seen stretching out along the banks. Already on the lofty right bank of the Volga, the blocks of the Stalingrad Krasnyoktyabr iron and steel works—where pitched battles were fought for every inch during the battle for Stalingrad—stand out. The factory was in complete ruins then. Today it is not only rehabilitated but has largely overgrown its pre-war size.

The party skimmed over the river for another couple of miles or so to pass the famous Stalingrad Tractor Works whose silver anniversary the whole of the Soviet Union is currently celebrating. These works are the cradle of Soviet works tractor building. In quarter of a century since, a whole townlet—the most densely populated district of Stalingrad—has mushroomed around these works. From this spot one can see steel cables of the telfer of the Stalingrad project scintillating in the bright sunlight. An endless stream of bucket-carts, containing building material for the power project, moves from the right to left bank at a height of nearly 100 meters. Our launch nears the left bank of the Volga to the spot where the large Volga tributary of Aktuba converges on the river. Here numerous modern buildings—the production premises and dwelling houses of the town of Volzhsky—stand silhouetted against the background. Five years ago there was no such town on the Soviet map. The settlement of the Stalingrad power project sprang up shortly after the first builders came here. It grew with literally every hour to become in its third year a townlet of wide, straight streets, tall houses, department stores, schools, clubs and picture palaces with a population of thousands of people. In its fourth years the Volzhsky settlement was renamed a town by a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. The general plan of the new city was elaborated by a group of architects and engineers of the state town planning institute in co-operation with the USSR Academy of Architecture.

The town of Volzhsky is the home of the power-project builders and future employees of the Stalingrad Power Station. With a wonderful present, it has ahead a still more brilliant future, for the day will soon come, when the huge power

## PILGRIMAGE FOR PEACE

station at Stalingrad will be commissioned. In these June days, at the time the army, thousands strong, of power project builders gave a rousing welcome to Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister and his entourage. They have concentrated their efforts on the decisive object—the concreting of the excavation bowl, which forms the foundation of the buildings of the huge power plant. The volume of the power plant building—2.2 million cubic metres—is more than that of the central edifice of the multi-storeyed Moscow University. The length of the main power project building is half a kilometre.

The excavation bowl—which could take in quite a number of city blocks—is at its bottom 35 metres below the Volga level, which means that it is much lower than the bed of this great river. The turbulent billows of the Volga attack untiringly and persistently the peninsula where the excavation site is. However, the waters of the Volga fail to strike fear in the hearts of the builders, for the peninsula, surrounded in a stable ring of high earth-works, is clothed in an armour of stone and metal. Anyone sailing up the river may see a black coloured wall rising up from the waves out into both sides, along the shores of this peninsula. This is a wall of metal consisting of iron pillars or piles, weighing several tons that have been driven deep into the river bed. A view of the excavation bowl amazes one by the riot of industrial landscapes the hands of Soviet people have built. The concrete carrying trestle overhangs that part of the excavation bowl adjacent to river. Built of metal this massive construction is reminiscent of an enormous railway bridge. It actually does have rails carrying motor locomotives to and fro. Gigantic cranes lift out the loads they convey and lower them to the bottom.

Next to the concrete-carrying trestle, another huge concrete works is going up on the broad earth-work, parting off the excavation site from the Volga river strip elsewhere. Several power gantry cranes are being assembled and raised aloft their intricate metallic towers. Dozens of machines are in operation in the excavation site itself. The tractors, excavators of different makes, cranes,—they are all constantly on the move. One can hear a powerful steady roar, produced by dozens of mechanisms and machines, already one approaches the excavation site. Work is being pushed ahead in three shifts, day and night, on the key objects of the future power station, specially in the excavation site

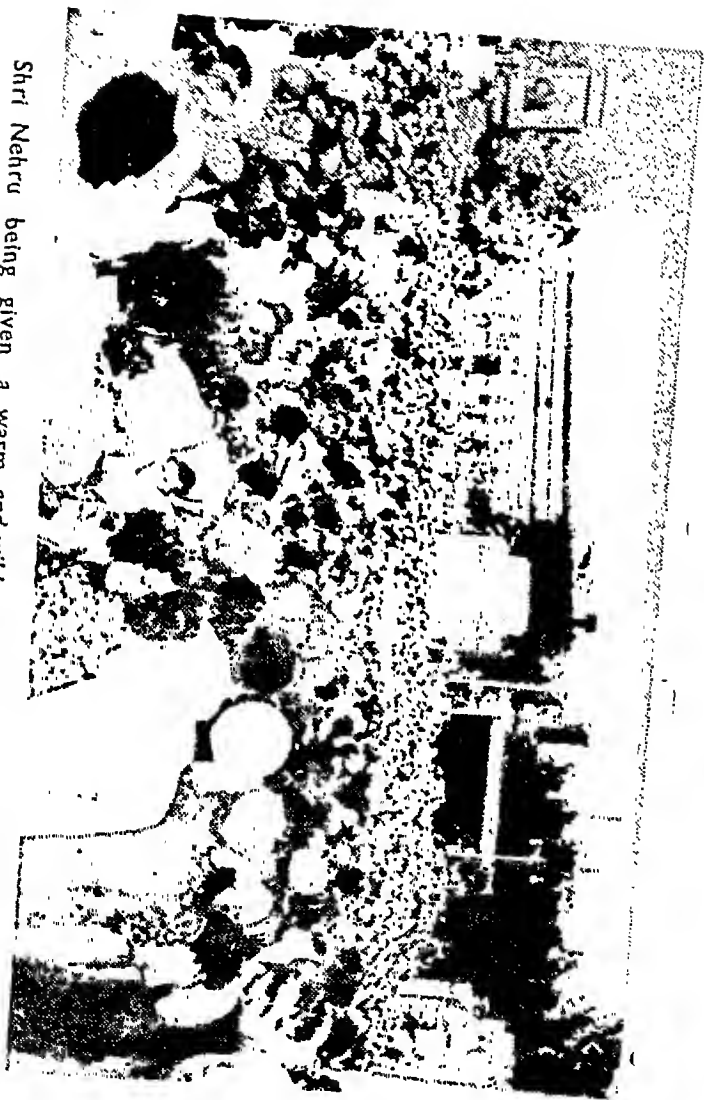
## NEHRU CONQUERS RUSSIA

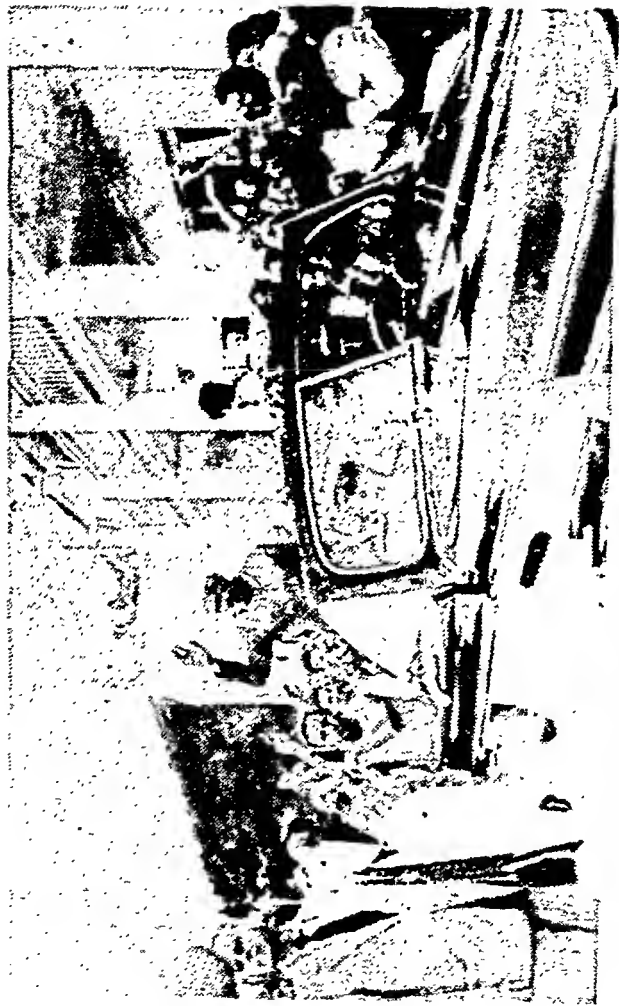
of the main structure of the power station itself. At night a multitude of electric lights flare up above the excavation site. These are searchlights mounted on high metal masts. And the enormous excavation bowl illuminated as bright as day light. The machinery and the men who run it are in constant movement. Braving no small number of hardships nature has set, they are creating one of the world's greatest power stations in which the representatives of friendly India showed keen interest.

It may be stated here that Shri Jawaharlal Nehru has been receiving numerous telegrams from Soviet citizens, thanking him for visiting the Soviet Union and requesting him for an autographed photo. One telegram recieved from an artist from Azerbaijan said. "To day I have borne a son. I ask your permission to name him after you, Jawaharlal. I wish you good health and excellent rest in our country." Another telegram read "Because of my great respect for you and for Indian people I am giving name, Indira, to my newly born daughter—Greek teacher, Kamchatka."



Shri Nehru being given a warm and wild reception by enthusiastic workers of a Tractor Plant at Stalingrad.





Prime Minister Nehru responding to the cheers of people during his trip through the Crimea, which he visited during his recent official visit to the U.S.S.R.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### Bewitching Beauty

From Stalingrad he and his party went to Simferopol in the Crimea by air. At the airport, decorated with Indian and Soviet flags, they were met by Mr. Kachenko, Ukrainian Premier and Mr. S. A. Slipchnko, Deputy Foreign Minister of the Ukraine. The children of Simferopol presented Shri Nehru and his daughter, Mrs. Indira Gandhi with bunches of flowers. Simferopol is the capital of the Crimean Republic and is in the southernmost part of the Republic of Ukraine. It is known for its fruit gardens.

It was annexed by Russia in 1784 and its population is 1,47,000. The People of Crimea welcomed Prime Minister Nehru with bouquets and band music and almost the whole town of Simferopol near Black Sea turned up to greet him. Citizens of Simferopol, lined up the route through which the honoured guest with his party drove, and lustily cheered and showered flowers on them as their cars moved past. Simferopol usually empties itself on Sundays for bathing in the Black Sea which is forty miles south but its citizens on that day cancelled their normal programme to accord a rousing reception to the Indian Premier. As the Party crossed the Crimean mountains, many villagers 'enroute' gathered in knots and greeted Shri Nehru and his party. Often peasants working in the fields came running to have a glimpse of the Indian leader.

Yet others followed the fast moving cars for some distance but soon abandoned the venture. At Alushta a holiday resort in the Black Sea coast, where he reached by car a large number of holiday-makers—some in bathing costumes—crowded the quayside. The complete abandon and gay cheers of the crowd was a memorable sight. In this picturesque country, hilly and thickly wooded, the sun shone bright.

### VISIT TO YALTA :

From the Simferopol airport, 60 miles from Yalta, the party went the first 40 miles by car and then by yacht across the Black Sea to Yalta where hundreds of boys and girls in Ukrainian national costumes greeted Prime Minister Nehru as his yacht touched this historic south Crimean town on June 12. They presented him with flowers. He was accompanied by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Mr. K. P. S. Menon, Mr. N. R. Pillai, the Soviet Ambassador in India, Mr. Menshikov, and members of the

## Indian Press delegation.

Huge crowds lined the picturesque road running through green plateau and blue hills and dames and shouted, "Priveth Nehru, Priveth India." (Greetings to Nehru, Greetings to India) as the cars passed. Large crowds including old and crippled war veterans on crutches and women with babies in their arms, stood in the scorching Ukranian sun waving, cheering and throwing flowers at the passing cars. They presented a memorable spectacle which, as Shri Nehru remarked, he would remember for long. Inside the automobiles, the radios sang welcome songs as they drove along.

As the yacht moved through the deep blue waters of the sea, Shri Nehru stood on the bridge watching the scenery while Mr. Menshikov, explained to him some important landmarks on the Black Sea coast.

Shri Nehru had a comparatively quiet day since he left Bombay on June 5. The reception in Yalta as usual vied with the receptions he got elsewhere in the U.S.S.R. After a quiet lunch, Shri Nehru visited what has now been converted into a sanatorium, where the "Big-Three"—Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill—met in 1945. The hall in which the "Big-Three" met is at present the dining hall of the sanatorium. Yalta abounds in sanatoria and rest houses for workers of various industries. Shri Nehru saw the new sanatorium constructed for the workers of the newsprint industry. He "evinced interest" in the hall and then visited the palatial wing where he talked to holiday-makers from several parts of Russia. Mr. Kachenko, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukranian S. S. R. gave a dinner in honour of Shri Nehru.

In Tbilisi, the capital of Georgian Republic Shri Nehru was received by the chairman of the local Soviet. The airport was tastefully decorated with Indian, Georgian and U. S. S. R. flags. White giant banners in Hindi welcoming the Indian Prime Minister and stressing Indo-Soviet friendship were displayed in many parts of the city. Weather was like Indian summer, hot and humid. The city itself looked an Indian town. As is usual, Georgia greets its visitors with a lavish display of natural beauty : a southern sea, luxuriant parks and gardens, towering mountains with villages scattered over their slopes. Its capital, Tbilisi, is situated in the very heart of the Republic, in the broad valley of the river Kura. The city is more than 15 centuries old. One thousand years ago the Arab geographer Ibn-Haukal described the city in the following words : "Tbilisi is a fertile, fortified city rich in food. It is more prosperous

than similar rich cities and fertile lands. It has baths like the Tiveriadi bath, where the water boils without fire. It was from these hot sulphur springs that Tbilisi got its name," say historians. "Tbilisi" in Georgian means "warm." The old part of Tbilisi has been transformed into a museum, filled with old churches built in the 6th and 7th centuries and the remains of strong fortress walls and towers. All those monuments of the past are carefully preserved. In the famous Sion cathedral, built in the 6th century, services are still held. At the same time Tbilisi is a very young city. More has been done for the people's welfare in the Soviet years than was done for centuries.

There is a magnificent panorama of Tbilisi from the top of Mt. Mtatsminda, which is connected with the city by a funicular railway. The city is surrounded by mountains with snow-capped Kazbek towering above them. From Mt-Mtatsminda you can see that the construction effort in the city is in progress not only in the centre but in fact, the main stress is being put on the outskirts. There, completely new districts have arisen over the past 20 years, places like Vake and Saburtalo, where the streets are broad and straight and the houses handsome, many-storeyed buildings that embody the characteristic features of Georgian architecture. Faced with light-yellow tuff, which the Georgians call the "Sunshine Stone", they have a festive appearance. At the present time there are more than 20 construction sites in the city. Apartment houses, colleges, schools and shops are going up. Every year, the people of Tbilisi acquire more than 1,00,000 square metres of new dwelling space.

### TBILISI UNIVERSITY :

The main street in the new Vake district is called University Avenue. Tbilisi University is situated in this street, and so are other schools and research institutes. Tbilisi had only one school of higher learning before the revolution. Today it has 12 higher schools, and 79 research institutes. Tbilisi University has a student body of over 5,000 men and women. The flowering of culture in Soviet Georgia is also reflected in the establishment of an Academy of Sciences there. Today a special academy town is going up in Saburtalo. Its contours are clearly seen from Mt. Mtatsminda. The new building will be occupied by 22 of the Academy's Institutes, a museum, and library to house one million books. Attractive new buildings have been erected along the reconstructed embankments of the Kura. For that matter, the Kura itself

has undergone changes. The Ortochal power plant built on the river raised the water level inside the city limits 12 metres.

Tbilisi is a garden city. Tall plane trees line its streets decorative bushes frame its squares. Trees are being planted not only in town. A big green shelter belt is being set out along the slopes of the mountains that surround the city. A vast storage lake has come into being a few kilometres out of Tbilisi. Three years ago the area which this blue "Tbilisi Sea" now covers was a sun-scorched depression. The people of Tbilisi dug canals, drove tunnels through the mountains, and channeled the waters of the mountain river Iori into the depression. Orchards and vine yards have been laid out along the shores of the new "Sea". Pre-revolutionary Tbilisi had no large industries. Today Tbilisi is a major centre with well-developed engineering, light and food industries. In the evenings the streets of Tbilisi are flooded with electric light. Cinema house, clubhouses and theatres are always crowded. Tbilisi has more than 10 drama and operatic theatres, the most popular being the Zakhari Paliashvili Opera House.

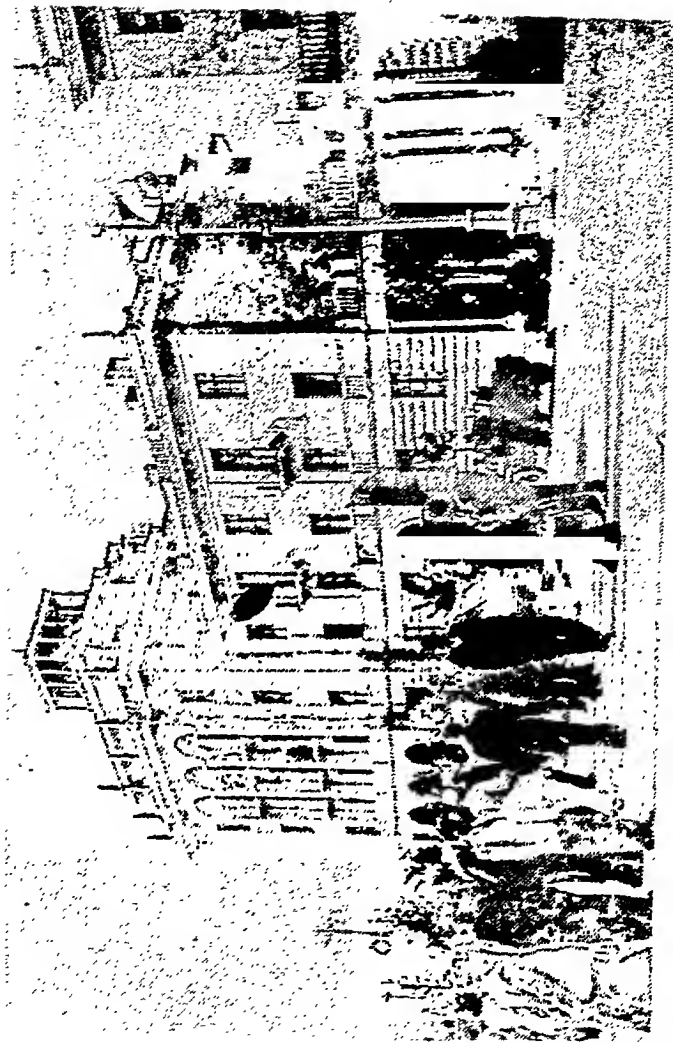
## TRANSCAUCASIAN STEEL MILL

After lunch, he visited the Transcaucasian Steel mill in Rustavi. He went round various sections of the plant which is the newest one put up there. It has a capacity of about a million tons. This steel city had broad roads and spacious quarters for works. From the steel mill he visited the State Farm which is run by the Government.

The Prime Minister looked very tired after a long journey and scorching heat. He drove in an open car and waved to the crowds which cheered him lustily. Unlike Ukraine, the Russian Federation of Georgia looks more Asian—oriental. This state is famous for its vineyards. People here looked somewhat different from those in Moscow or even in Stalingrad. One was reminded of similar scenes in Bombay or Madras when he drove through Tbilisi. People here gave one the impression that they did not take anything seriously. It should however, be remembered that Tbilisi played an important role in the Russian revolution. The great Russian leader, Stalin was born in a village which is 50 miles east of Tbilisi. It is now a national shrine. Like the rest of the U. S. S. R. here too great constructive activities are going on. The steel plant is situated in the midst of waste lands but all round it has grown fir trees.



Prime Minister Nehru being greeted by a large gathering of people on arrival at the Tashkent airport



While in Georgia, the Indian delegation travelled to Rustavi, the youngest city in the Republic, to visit the Stalin Iron and steel mill. Photo shows the delegation in one of the Rustavi streets.

## PILGRIMAGE FOR PEACE

In the evening the Prime Minister and his daughter Indira Gandhi attended a performance of David Toradze's Georgian ballet "Gorda" at the Paliashvili opera House. "I take the opportunity to convey my best wishes to you and the entire population of sunny Georgia," said the Prime Minister as he was preparing to leave hospitable Tbilisi. "I shall never forget this visit." He was entertained at a ceremonial dinner given in his honour by Mr. V. D. Dzbarakhas Shvili, the Prime Minister of Georgia. The memory of the Prime Minister's visit will also remain long in the memory of the people of Tbilisi.



## CHAPTER SIX

### Among Uzbeks

He reached Tashkent, the beautiful capital of the Uzbek Soviet Republic in central Asia on June 14. He travelled by air from Tbilisi accompanied by his daughter and other members of the party besides a number of senior Indian personalities. To reach this place he had to fly over a 100 miles snow-capped Caucasus range a sight of bewitching beauty. He flew over numerous industrial towns. At Tashkent airport, he was presented with an address of welcome in Urdu which was read by an Uzbek citizen. The Prime Minister replied in Urdu which presumably, the crowds followed in parts and they cheered him lustily. He said both India and Uzbek were good neighbours. There were many ties between the two countries' culture. India wanted peace and so did Uzbek, for without peace they could not prosper. His speech was translated into Russian by Mr. R. N. Kaul of the Indian Embassy. The population of Tashkent is about a million and most of them were on the streets to see the Indian Prime Minister, who drove through the dense crowds which had been waiting for over six hours to welcome him. The plane carrying him arrived two hours late. He drove through a six mile long avenue flanked by popular and fir trees. Cheering crowds on both sides of the road threw bouquets at his car, forming carpets of flowers at times over which his car passed. Uzbek women in flowing gowns and wearing embroidered skull caps stood in deep rows with their children. They clapped their hands as car passed through. The airport and the main thoroughfares were decorated with Indian, Uzbek and U.S.S.R. flags while large banners in Hindi welcoming the Indian Prime Minister fluttered. Roughly 40 per cent of population of the town are Russians, many of whom have settled down there since pre-revolution days. The Indian Prime Minister greeted the people of Turkmenia and Uzbek republics with characteristic "Salamalekum." The greetings were reciprocated, with visible emotions, by the crowds, both at Ashabad and Tashkent, with a full throated "Aleksalam."

### VISIT-TO SAMARKAND

On June 15, he paid a four-hour visit to historic Samarkand which is 200 miles from Tashkent, second big city in Uzbek Republic. Samarkand is ancient city where Timur Lane ruled and from here centuries ago numerous invaders as well

as scholars came to India. He spent couple of hours visiting monuments of archaeological interest such as Timur's tomb, his grandson's palace and ancient observatory. There is a century's gap between the broad squares and Zislousines of Moscow and the mud houses and donkeycarts of Samarkand but the reception given to Shri Nehru has been equally fantastic in both cities, wrote an Indian Journalist Shri Prem Bhatia who accompanied Nehru in his tour. They spent five hours on June 15 in Samarkand—an hour's ride in plane from Tashkent—and received so much public attention that most of them must devote the remainder of the day to rest and repairs. Not only was Indian Premier mobbed and jostled by wildly enthusiastic crowds until he changed into a smaller car to escape attention but every Indian accompanying him had his share of this embarrassing welcome. Both along the street and during visits to Timurlane's tomb and the city's ancient square thousands of men, women and children seemed literally to be in a state of frenzy and some were injured in this confusion. What is the explanation of this unbelievable warmth and admiration which have outstripped even China's last October? It may be remembered Mr. Prem Bhatia was with the Indian Prime Minister in that tour also. In seeking an answer one can think of two main reasons, though these may appear inadequate in print. The first and foremost is the basic belief that Shri Nehru stands for world peace which Russians have been taught through many years of diligent campaigning at home to regard as a fundamental tenet of their political religion. In a country where even minority of the world peace movement are lionized, public respect for Shri Nehru has grown in direct proportion to his consistent record of bold opposition to war talk. At present every Indian is a little hero in the Premier's reflected glory. Over a period of several months now public interest in India has been built up through the Press and radio and Shri Nehru has been presented to nation hungry for friends as a genuine and powerful supporter of peace until he seems to have become a legend. Secondly, this is the first time people in Russia have been encouraged to make public demonstration of their admiration for a visiting celebrity. Thanks to the chief guest's own initiative the dead hand of security had been relaxed to a degree unknown to people in the country. For instance, who in Russia has ever seen a great leader drive in public in an open car pelted with bouquets and pushed by crowds? All this appears to people as a fantastically beautiful dream to which they have responded with an innate goodness and warmth. For Press correspondents covering the Indian Premier's

tour this is proving an opportunity well worth the strain of travel, sleeplessness and indescribable hospitality. To me concludes Mr. Bhatia, personally who knew a different Russia seven years ago, the experience presents a contrast which baffles but please. Sightseeing, however, became difficult. Despite a drizzle and slush, big crowds which lined up the route closed in on his car. Vehicles could not move and approaches to the monuments were densely crowded. Many women with bouquets, caught in the jam, screamed. The enthusiasm, warmth and affection of the crowds towards India and its leader was tremendous. His car made a detour and drove into a park but here he ran into a bigger crowd. Later, he drove out of the park, got into a smaller car and slipped out of the bungalow where he was to have his lunch. Few in Samarkand could have seen Shri Nehru. Hari, his personal attendant who was sitting in another car, however became the centre of attraction. His car was stuffed with bouquets. He quickly removed his white cap, ducked in his seat and was driven away. After lunch the Indian Prime Minister flew back to Tashkent. At Ashabad airport where the plane carrying his party landed for refuelling he was received by the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Turkmen Republic. He took lunch at the airport which consisted of "Pulau" and "Kabab" familiar Indian dishes. Before boarding the plane for Tashkent he met a large crowd which had gathered outside the airport. He told them in Urdu that there were many things common between India and Turkmenia. He felt quite at home there as though among his friends, he said. He and party were presented with national costume of Turkmenia. He retired to an airport room and returned after donning the dress. This was a signal for a great ovation and the crowd fell upon each other to get near.

Shri Nehru and his party on return to Tashkent after a short visit to Samarkand drove from the airport to a cotton growing collective farm named after Stalin, Moscow radio reported. The Indian Prime Minister had a chat with the chairman of the collective farm and asked questions about its organisation. After a short rest he talked to members of the collective farm over cup of green tea. Later he visited the farmer's dwelling houses. Before leaving he and his party were invited to dine with the collective farmers and sat down at a table laid in the shade of trees. Toasting the chairman he said, "I was very happy to know some thing about your work and to find out what success you have achieved." He had a strenuous programme on that day. He flew over 1,500 miles



Shri Nehru, Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Mr. K. P. S. Menon, during their visit to Tashkent wearing Uzbek dresses which were presented to them.



Shri Jawaharlal Nehru being accorded a warm welcome by the citizens of Samarkand.

in bad weather, against strong headwinds, and did a further 150 miles by Kucha dusty road to visit the Kubrinsky State farm in the Altai region. The citizens of Tashkent gave the Prime Minister a warm send off when he left the Uzbek city to continue his tour of Soviet Union. After a two-hour flight, he and the party reached Alma Alta, capital of Kazakhstan, where they stopped for two hours. Replying to an address of welcome at the airport he said both Indian and the Soviet Union desired peace. He was sure that this could be achieved by "Panch Shila," the principles of peaceful co-existence. Most of the half a million population of this town turned out in the streets to receive the Prime Minister. As he drove through its broad popular avenues, flanked on one side by snow-capped mountains, people cheered and threw flowers at him. The main thoroughfare was completely littered with flowers. Shri Nehru drove to a villa nestling on a hill and had an early lunch. Alma Alta, meaning father of apples, is the capital of a state famous for its apples and cattle. It was once a backward town, but is now highly industrialised and has a university of its own. The snow-capped mountain reminds one of Srinagar, but, unlike Srinagar, the town has no lakes and gullies. The whole town has a suburban atmosphere.

### A SMALL FACTORY TOWN

From Alma Alta, he resumed his journey to Rubtsovsk; a town well known for tractor works, where he reached on June 16. It is a small industrial city in south Russia. His plane flew over miles and miles of green lands which are now being turned into wheat-growing tracts by the Soviet Government. The Prime Minister drove to the state farm—from Rubtsovsk. It was a two and half hour drive through roads cutting across vast stretches of wheat fields. On the roadside were rickety huts with thatched or timber roofs forming small villages. It was explained that in those huts lived families of volunteers who had come to execute the government policy of turning the vast stretch of virgin lands into wheat farms.

At the farm the director-in-charge explained to him that last year 125 farms were opened and this year it was hoped that the target of 325 would be exceeded. Neither houses nor any modern amenities were available in the farm. The engineer and the technicians made the tractors and lorries their homes. Volunteers and their families live in tents and then put up improvised hutments. Permanent cottages were also under construction.

During the last year, nearly 20,000 hectares of land were brought under the plough. The first yield from these lands, it was told, was satisfactory and it was hoped with better irrigation facilities under contemplation, the produce would increase. The director of the farm proudly showed the Indian visitors a small white bag containing the first yield of wheat from the farm. During the past two years, the State had invested sixteen million roubles on the farm. Last year four million roubles worth of wheat was produced and in the current year 19 million roubles worth of wheat was expected.

The guests went round the farm, followed by cheering workers and returned to Rubtsovsk late in the evening. A large crowd which was waiting outside the hotel where Shri Nehru was to stay cheered as he arrived there. They demonstrated their warmth of affection by repeated clapping, for over an hour. He appeared on the balcony of the hotel twice and was greeted with thunderous applause. Before leaving Ruhtsovok (Altai region) he said: "Your very extended fields pleased me very much and the wind of the steppes has refreshed me."

### IN MAGNET TOWN :

On June 17 he along with members of his party reached Magnitogorsk where he was shown round a combined iron and steel mill. It is a city in the south Urals, situated on the upper Ural river which has been dammed to supply water. It is now the chief metallurgical centre of the Union. The Urals are called the backbone of Soviet industry. The entrails of the ancient Ural mountain range, stretching for more than two thousand kilometres, contain rich deposits of iron, copper, coal, oil, hauxite, potassium and magnesium salts and rare metals. Many large industrial cities are situated here, which use these inexhaustible resources: the Smlikamsky Brezniki in the North with their highly developed chemical industry, Nizhni Tagil and Magnitogorsk with their gigantic metallurgical plants and Chelyabinsk and Molotov with their engineering plants known all over the country.

Magnitogorsk, means magnet town, is a fascinating city with a population of three lakhs. The river Ural runs alongside the city. On the left bank, which is the Asian part of the U.S.S.R., is situated the steel plant while on the right bank a new city, which is said to lie in Europe, is springing up. Magnitogorsk is a monument to Russian enterprise in the post revolution era. In 1928, this was a small village of 300 huts and a church. There was no electricity. Today

it is a flourishing industrial city. Half the city consists of small timber or tin-roofed cottages. Across the river rise multi-storeyed apartments. Local authorities said that as new buildings come up—and there was a great deal of building activity seen—cottage dwellers were transferred to them. As the Indian guests drove from the airport to the hotel, they saw a large number of people in front of the church. There was no room inside and devotees stood on the pavement. A huge portrait of Virgin Mary adorned the entrance of this orthodox church. The party drove through a two-long concrete avenue with young poplars on either side.

The editor of a local daily, who accompanied the party, said the road was built through "Subotnik." Subotnik, it may be stated, has its origin in the civil war days when, during week-ends, people voluntarily came forward and contributed labour in public projects for half a day or even a full day without any remuneration. Prime Minister Nehru spent over three hours at the steel plant. The steel plant, which is said to be the biggest of its kind in Europe, produces four and half million tons of finished steel annually and five million tons of pig iron. Shri Nehru visited various sections of the plant and saw different stages from the scooping of iron ore from a nearby hill to its processing and final emergence as rolled steel. He drove through the city sitting on the folded hood of an open car while crowds cheered him on the route.

It was quite warm but he wanted to drive in an open car and first drove to an adjacent hill which supplies huge quantities of 67 per cent rich iron ore to the plant. The director of the plant said that they excavated daily 70,000 metric tons, out of 30,000 tons were consumed by the plant, the rest being railed to other centres. They did not use manganese in processing steel, he said. He went round blast furnaces also. There were 27 open hearth furnaces. Here he was presented with a casting of his bust by a worker of the factory.

## INDUSTRIAL AND CULTURAL CENTRE

The Prime Minister left Magnitogorsk in the afternoon and arrived late in the evening of June 17 at Sverdlovsk, another important industrial centre which too lies in the Urals region. This city is situated in the heart of great Urals. It is wellknown for Russian military industry production.

Sverdlovsk, the largest industrial and cultural centre of the

Soviet Union, stands foremost among the Ural industrial cities. It has been named after Yakov Sverdlov eminent Russian revolutionist and Lenin's and Stalin's companion-in-arms, who for many years carried out his tireless activity in the Urals and whose bronze monument at present towers above one of the central squares of the city. Present-day Sverdlovsk, which, according to the words of poet Vladimir Mayakosky, was born "of will, the Urals labour and energy", has hardly anything in common with the pre-revolutionary Yekaterinburg, as the city was named before. It was a city of sharp contrasts. Reflecting the technical backwardness of the Urals of those days, the city was not noted for the size of its population, its production scales nor its cultural significance, remaining an extremely badly organised city without a municipality. The progress of Soviet Sverdlovsk is a vivid manifestation of the great success achieved in the socialist industrialisation of the country and the mighty growth of the productive force of the whole Urals.

Sverdlovsk is, first of all, a large engineering centre. Its machine-builders are providing the country with powerful rolling-mills, gigantic excavators, hydraulic presses, oil-well drilling installations, turbines, generators and turret cranes. The world-wide famous Urals Heavy Machine-Building Plant is also located here. On the day it was put into operation in July, 1933, the great writer Maxim Gorky said it would be the "father of many plants and factories". During the period of its existence, Uralmash has provided a great many plants in the Urals, Siberia, the Ukraine, Georgia and other districts of the Soviet Union with up-to-date equipment. At present, Uralmash also supplies many European and Asian countries with equipment. A powerful blooming mill, rail-rolling mill, equipment for the blast-furnace and other shops of the metallurgical plant, which is to be built in India, will be produced at this plant. In order to get an idea of what the output of this plant is like, it is enough to take a look at one rail-beam mill. It includes hundreds of different types of machines and mechanisms, which need a building about a kilometre long to accommodate them. Hardly any manual operations are carried out on this mill. Everything is done by one machine, man having only to control them. Another famous plant, the "Uralelectroapparat" produces unique electric machines for the largest hydro-electric power stations in the country. Powerful 400,000-volt transformers have been produced here. The small "Ruskiye Samotsvets" (Russian precious stone) factory, which is several decades

old, has become lost among these industrial giants of the city. Various beautiful things are made here from the Urals jewels and precious stones. At one time a map of the Soviet Union was made here, for which almost all kinds of the precious stones and jewels to be found in the Urals were used. The Ruby Stars of the Kremlin were also made at this factory.

This is not only an industrial but also a large cultural centre. If we go to the end of the broadest street of the city along the Lenin Prospekt we shall see an attractive building with a portico and pillars. It is the Ural Polytechnical Institute, where about 16 thousand students are studying. Among the students who have come here from all parts of the Urals one can also meet some from abroad: from China, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia. Besides the Polytechnical Institute, there are eight other institutes and a state university in the city.

The Urals Geological Museum is well-known in the USSR. Almost all the elements included in the Mendeleev table can be found in the Urals and most of them in such a large quantity that they can be used in industry. More than 20 thousand different samples of useful minerals and precious stones are exhibited in the halls of the museum. There are also several theatres in the city, the most popular of them being the opera and ballet theatre and the musical comedy theatre. The Young Pioneer Palace is situated in a beautiful shady park. It is the favourite rest place of the Sverdlovsk children. The Palace has many rooms for laboratories, for technical circles and amateur art activities. Two of the largest halls of the Palace have been painted by artists to the motifs of the fascinating tales by Bazhov, the Ural writer.

### VISIT TO HEAVY MACHINE BUILDING PLANT :

"I have been received with great love, with great attention everywhere", said Prime Minister Shri Nehru at the aerodrome. "I can see the big work that is being accomplished here. Of course, I knew a great deal about it. But it is better to see it with one's own eyes than to read about it in books. I shall be very happy to come to know your life and your work better."

The Prime Minister spent most of June 18 at the giant Urals Heavy Machine-Building Works, the largest in the USSR. The tour of the works started with the foundry, where G. N. Glebovsky, Director of the Plant, told the Prime Minister about the technological process of moulding and

casting. There are number of unique machines in the foundry. One is a powerful moulding machine with a load-lifting capacity of 17 tons. A grey-haired worker approached, and the Director introduced him to the Prime Minister. He was Pyotr Antonov, technologist and one of the oldest workers at the plant. Pyotr Antonov has worked in the Urals for 60 years. During this time he has taught many young workers the art of moulding. The visitors were interested to learn that the present shop superintendent was once a pupil of Antonov.

The visitors then went over into the rumbling forging and press department. There they were attracted by a mechanism which lightly turned and moved a steel pig weighing many tons beneath the blows of a hammer. That was a "manipulator", the Director told them. Only a short while ago the production of such heavy forged pieces required considerably more time and strength. "And here is the inventor of this machine," said the Director, introducing them to T. Olenikov, a tall man with piercing black eyes. His manipulator has, besides making work easier, raised productivity almost five time over. That is not the limit, however. The leading workers in the shop intend to get still better results with that hammer. Not long ago Olenikov returned from Moscow, where he described his work experience at a gathering in the Kremlin. The Prime Minister enthusiastically shook hands with the famous worker.

Then the visitors went to the machine shop. The party walked past giant turning and planing lathes, each of which occupies an area larger than that of a medium-sized apartment house. "Where were the machines in this shop made?" the Prime Minister asked. Almost all of them were manufactured at Soviet Plants, he was told.

The Director told the Prime Minister more about the history and importance of the plant in his office. "Our plant is a product of the first Five-Year Plan," said the Director. "It was launched in 1933. Since then it has steadily been enlarged. At the beginning, before our industry got on its feet, we bought lathes from Germany, the United State and other countries. Gradually, however, more and more equipment came to us from Soviet factories. Today we have the right to call our plant the factory of factories. We now produce equipment for iron and steel plants ourselves, as well as equipment for the ferrous and oil industries."

The Prime Minister wanted to know where equipment

for the Iron and Steel Plant in India would be manufactured, to which the Director replied, "The greater part will be made here. We have orders to make a blooming mill, rail and girder lathes, and equipment for blast furnaces and open-hearth furnaces for your country."

The Prime Minister was much interested in the living standards, system of social insurance, and technical training of the workers. He listened attentively to the answers to his questions and made notes. "Our plant is a real school for young workers," said the Director. "Out of every 10 workers an average of four attend various technical courses or the evening institutes or technical schools located not far from the plant." All the workers received benefits and pensions from the state in case of injury, illness or advanced age. The law, however, does not force anyone to stop working on account of age. The Director reminded the Prime Minister of Pyotr Antonov, to whom he had been introduced in the foundry. Pyotr Antonov is 75 years old, but he is still full of energy and strength, and continues on the job, receiving, besides his wages, his pension in full.

As souvenirs of his visit, the Director presented to the Prime Minister an album of photographs of the main shops and the goods produced at the plant, as well as a model of the walking excavator manufactured at the plant. All of the guests were given Urals Machine-Building Plant badges as souvenirs. The Prime Minister wrote in the Visitors' Book, "It has been very interesting and very instructive to visit this wonderful plant". In the end the Prime Minister said to the Director in Russian, "Thank you."

After that the Indian guests visited the dwellings for the workers that have been put up near the plant, went into a hostel for young unmarried women workers, and were invited into the homes of married workers. The Prime Minister talked with the technician G. P. Yushkov, whose flat consists of four rooms. In another, he was received by shop superintendent P. G. Levandovsky. Levandovsky's wife noticed that her visitors were studying with interest some marble statuettes of elephants on a shelf. "We hold them to be a symbol of happiness", she explained, and presented one of them to the Prime Minister.

In the afternoon the Prime Minister and his party went to the Geological Museum of the Sverdlovsk Mining Institute, one of the largest and richest in the Soviet Union. There,

## NEHRU CONQUERS RUSSIA

Professor A. E. Malakhov took the Prime Minister through halls filled with exhibits showing the mineral and ore wealth of the Urals. The Museum was founded only in 1937, but it already has about 20,000 items on display. Every year geologists add interesting new finds to its collection. It is visited annually by some 30,000 persons. The Prime Minister showed great interest in the displays of mountain ores and precious stones. "It is a splendid museum", he wrote in the Visitors' Book, "and of interest to anyone, but particularly to those who are interested in geology. In as much as I once studied geology, this museum is of tremendous interest to me."

In the evening the Prime Minister and his party visited the Palace of Young Pioneers, which is situated in a mansion that once belonged to the big Urals gold-mine owner Kharitonov. A big concert was given in the Prime Minister's honour at the Sverdlovsk Opera House. All day long the streets of the city through which the Prime Minister and the group of journalists drove were filled with crowds. From the bottom of their hearts the people of Sverdlovsk welcomed the representatives of the great Indian people. Streamers were hung across the streets and inside the territory of the plant, saying in Hindi and Russian.

"Long live the great Indian people :"

"Long live friendship and co-operation between the peoples of the USSR and India". "Greetings to Prime Minister Shri Nehru. Welcome!"

Near one of the factories a large crowd of people was noticed about a bookstall. It turned out that the Russian translation of "Indian Tales" and Shri Jawaharlal Nehru's book "Discovery of India" had just come out and everyone wanted copies. That is still another of the many evidences of the tremendous interest which the Soviet people show in the life of the great Indian people.





Prime Minister Nehru visiting the Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Works where he was presented a statue of his, made by one of the workers from pig iron.

Shri Nehru among the children in a Pioneer Palace in Leningrad.



## CHAPTER SEVEN

### Hilgrint's Progress

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru arrived at Leningrad from Sverdlovsk by air on June 18 on the penultimate leg of his tour of the Soviet Union. On its way from Sverdlovsk the plane was diverted to Kazan, capital of Tartar autonomous republic owing to heavy rains. At Leningrad airport which had been decorated with Indian and Soviet flags he was received by the Chairman of the town Soviet of Deputies, Mr. Nikoloi Smirnov and members of the local Soviet. The Chairman welcomed him in a speech to which Shri Nehru replied. Despite a drizzle and cold wind, enormous crowds gathered and gave an ovation as Shri Nehru's car slowly passed through. Vast surging crowds lined up for miles from the airport and cheered as Prime Minister Nehru drove in an open car on his arrival in Leningrad. His arrival here was delayed by three hours owing to bad weather. With his party Shri Nehru visited the local Art Gallery in the evening and later attended Leningrad's famous ballet "Sleeping Beauty". He saw the Stalin turbine plant which is a very old installation, manufacturing thirty turbines of four categories a month. He also visited a children's camp hospital and Petrocra Hospital.

With his arrival at Leningrad, he had covered approximately 9,000 miles, visiting far-flung cities of the U. S. S. R. Most of the journey was packed during the past nine days. The tour has been hectic with so much to see in so little time. Wherever we went, one was impressed by almost incredible—often embarrassing as in Samarkand—warmth, welcome and affection. The character of the reception too reflected the diversity of races and climes which make up U.S.S.R.—orderly bouquet-carrying Moscovites, southern Ukrainians and Crimeans who insisted on having a glimpse of the Indian Prime Minister anyhow; warm-blooded Georgians who must climb into the car to shake hands, and turbulent Uzbeks whose welcome was near riotous sentimentalism.

This mosaic of humanity approximates the people of different parts of India in many respects. This is the aspect which impressed the Prime Minister a great deal. "Have you seen the people?" he often asked the members of his party and Journalists. Many theories and dogmas, fondly held beliefs of supposed state of affairs in U.S.S.R., would appear at present

off the mark.

In this crowded, rather very crowded, schedule of his visit, contact with people was restricted to shaking hands with hundreds of people a day—a minor ordeal in itself as Russians demonstrate their affection by tight grip-getting mixed up in crowds, creating problems for the conducting officials, hurried visits to factories, being mobbed, attending dinners to which one develops dread soon. They laid elaborate table stacked with fruits, wines and a bewildering number of delicacies and between hosts and guests a minimum of twenty toasts were proposed. Nevertheless one gets "the feel" of the place. Warm-blooded hard-working people, whose country was ravaged by the war and who paid a terrific price for the victory, their hunger for peace is genuine and they do not want any let or hindrance in the reconstruction of their country and in building up a prosperous future.

Many of the things written and spoken about the U.S.S.R. in the past may have been true or exaggerated. But according to competent diplomatic observers in Moscow there has been perceptible change and shift in Kremlin's policy without giving up basic tenets of Communist regime, both in respect of domestic and foreign affairs. To suggest that Stalinism has not survived Stalin would be a reading which would be hotly disputed. Nevertheless there is a change taking place, almost a transition, to what objective one does not know.

### GRAND RECEPTIONS :

This is ascribed to strong self-confidence and realisation of their own strength. Shri Nehru during his tour, had more than a glimpse of the industrial might of the U.S.S.R. and her people and visited an atomic plant—a rare event, perhaps unprecedented as the extremely security-conscious. Russians would never allow anybody to approach the area, let alone permit a foreigner to inspect the plant. To Prime Minister Nehru they spread the red carpet, kept five planes at the disposal of Indian visitors and at outlandish places hurriedly put up hotels. as one could see they were newly done up and arranged a special ballet at short notice in the famous Bolshoi Theatre.

They were anxious to furnish all information he required. Indicative of this was the instance when Shri Nehru, while on a visit to an aircraft factory, wanted to know the progress the plant had made since its inception and how many aircrafts they produced now. The director in charge of the plant looked

round—there were forty people in the room—stalled for a couple of minutes and said: "Yes, sir, we will supply you all figures".

His personal talks with Soviet top leaders such as Marshal Voroshilov, Marshal Bulganin, Mr. Khrushchev, Mikoyan and others were marked not only by their cordiality but also with complete frankness. Shri Nehru's reflective mood and meditative manner would appear to have impressed the Soviet leaders. At small selective gatherings people here tend to become expansive, almost frolicsome, at high quarters. This was a new experience for the Prime Minister.

Thirteen senior Indian Government officials specialising in branches as diverse as hydro engineering and civil aviation are also now touring the Soviet Union to investigate the possibilities of assistance. The Soviet Press has been emphasising the necessity of giving aid to India without strings attached.

"Seldom has such a long voyage been made throughout our Soviet country by the head of a Government" wrote the correspondent of the "Literaturnaya Gazeta" Mr. R. Carmen, who was accompanying Shri Nehru. "In the last five days alone, our guest was welcomed by the people of five republics—the Ukraine, Georgia, Turkmenia, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan of which some are far larger than any European country. This certainly gives an idea of the scope of the trip. In every place he replied to speeches of greetings. As he walked up to the microphone, he hurriedly cast a searching glance at the people assembled, seemingly wishing to make a closer acquaintance with the new people in each new city. Softly he spoke in Hindi of peace, of friendship among the nations, of impossibility of mankind's existence without peace and of the vital necessity for the friendly co-existence of the Indian and Soviet peoples. To the Uzbeks he said, "We are neighbours".

"As he was speaking about neighbourly relations, it seemed that he was speaking not of geography, but of the conscience of the peoples and of the sentiments cherished in millions of Russian, Ukrainian, Uzbek and Indian hearts. In simple and straightforward words, Shri Nehru expressed the will of the people of India for friendship and co-operation with the peoples of the Soviet Union and for the strengthening of world peace."

## FRIENDLY TIES :

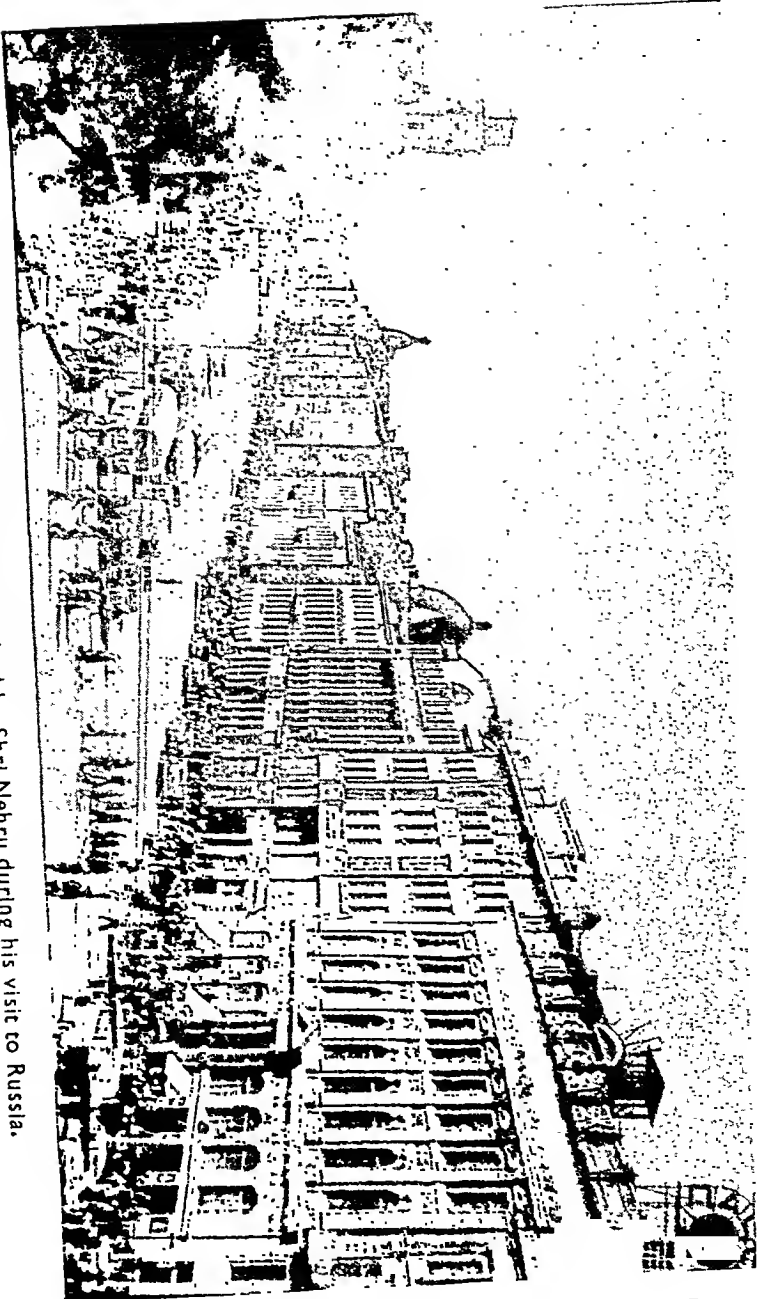
These friendly ties are growing in scope and strength from day to day. Young Soviet men and women crowded the

lecture halls to hear the story of the Indian town of the Mohen-jo-Daro, the centre of a most ancient civilization. Not a narrow circle of scholars but thousands of Soviet people wish to learn of the great ancient Indian epics of the "Ramayana" and "Mahabharata". The seeds of rare and delicate Indian plants brought from India which Soviet scientists are handling with utmost care, are already sprouting. Shri Nehru has shown an indefatigable spirit in this far-from easy journey with its distant plane flights and long trips by car and on foot in his talks with dozens of people

"He was not satisfied with just a general survey of the majestic panorama of the Stalingrad power project. He wanted to descend into the construction bowl to gain a closer idea of the site and see its builders. In an Uzbek village he visited the home of a collective farmer. At Transcaucasian Iron and Steel Works in Rustavi, he walked up and down the narrow iron steps in the hot workshops, warding off his face with his hand as he watched the blazing steel. Shri Nehru has flown thousands of miles. He flew over the Black Sea and crossed the Caspian. His plane had been above the Volga, Amu-Darya and Irtyshe. From the observation window he looked down upon the Soviet Union's biggest Kara Kum sand desert. He flew over Caucasian peaks breaking into the clouds, above the Kopet-Dagh range. Thousands of residents lined the street of that amazingly attractive town of Simferopol buried in greenery. Shri Nehru drove by in an open limousine under a veritable rain of flowers and bouquets of roses. Shri Nehru and Mrs. Indira Gandhi stood up in their car which gradually filled up with flowers. Thousands of people applauded and cheered friendship between the two great peoples. Similar welcomes were given in Yalta, Tbilisi, Tashkent and Alma-Ata.

"Shri Nehru visited the Kuryin state farm founded on the virgin land of Altai in the spring of 1954. He had with him a highly appreciated gift presented by the settlers of the Kuryin grain growing state farm. It was a blue bag filled with Altai wheat grown on once virgin soil. On the bag the white dove of peace has been embroidered with loving hands. Shri Nehru was deeply moved as he accepted the present. He stood for long on the high teather-grass covered mound, peering into the distant blue and letting his eyes roam over the rich carpet of green wheat bursting through the ground. The Prime Minister was given many gifts by the people wherever he went. Among them is small engraving on silver

Nevsky Avenue in Leningrade, visited by Shri Nehru during his visit to Russia.





Shri Nehru being conducted round the Indian Section of the Leningrad Museum where he saw  
a sculpture of Mahatma Gandhi.

called "friendship of nations".

## INTERESTED IN ECONOMY AND PLANNING :

The Indian Prime Minister attached greater importance to the study of Soviet economy and planning than to anything else and a close analysis of his itinerary confirmed this contention. Predominance has been given in his tour programme to industrial and agricultural projects over the cultural and even the political aspect of his mission. While during his tour of fourteen different places in the U. S. S. R. covering over 10,000 miles as the crow flies, through ten of sixteen constituent Republics of the U.S.S.R., he visited only one university and two secondary schools and attended about half a dozen cultural programmes, including operas, ballets and theatres. He visited as many as eleven key industrial plants and five agricultural state farms. This special emphasis on the economic aspect in the programme was due, it is learnt, to his own express desire as he was very keen on seeing what the Soviet Union had been able to do in this important nation-building sphere during the last 28 years since he had been to Russia with his late father, Pt. Motilal Nehru

While his anxiety for strengthening friendly relations between India and the Soviet Union and promoting better international understanding and co-operation continues to be almost an obsession with him, his mind is set on the immediate national problems of India, such as raising the standard of living of Indians, which, he thinks, can be better done by thorough study and observation of how exactly socialist planning operates in the U. S. S. R. and how the Soviet Union could usher in an era of peace and plenty in its vast Union and also whether it would be feasible to apply some of these methods to India with such modifications as would suit the special genius of her people and fit in her peculiar conditions. One reason for his special attention to Soviet planning seems to be due to his growing conviction that Soviet industrial and agricultural expansion was a noteworthy success and their planning, though often ridiculed as "red smoke" made more remarkable strides than similar plans elsewhere in similar adverse conditions.

As for the cultural aspect of his mission, Shri Nehru seems to hold the view that the Soviet Union has forged ahead of the U. S. A., Britain and other countries in establishing ethnic equality and racial democracy among the many different minority nationalities and the races that lived within the

far-flung border of the U. S. S. R. He seems to consider as almost unique how with a total area of approximately eight and a half million square miles, spreading out over two continents covering territory amounting to over one sixth of the earth's land surface and with one hundred and seventy distinguishable races, nationalities and tribes, the Soviet Union was able to solve this vast, complex and formidable problem.

It is stated that although Shri Nehru broke all previous practices by addressing a grand public meeting in Peking following the conclusion of his China tour, there is so far no precedent in Soviet history of a foreign statesman of international repute addressing the Soviet people at public meetings. Thus Shri Nehru's mission to the Soviet Union will rightly be characterised as very successful inasmuch as it has achieved its three-fold objective in the economic, cultural and political spheres.

"Leningradskaya Pravda" commenting on Shri Nehru's visit wrote :

"The friendship between our two great nations is growing not daily, but, literally, hourly, The trail blazed by the first cultural delegation from our country has become a high way of friendship between our great nations and this highway cannot be barred by even the Himalayas".



## CHAPTER EIGHT

### Again in Moscow

On June 20, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru left Leningrad by Train for Moscow on the last leg of his extensive tour of the Soviet Union and reached there the next day. He visited the U. S. S. R. agricultural exhibition in Moscow. With particularly great pleasure the Chairman of the Exhibition Committee I. F. Benediktov and the Director of the Exhibition Academician N. V. Tsitsin welcomed their dear and honoured guest. Both of them were already acquainted with the Prime Minister. Benediktov during his work as Ambassador of the USSR in India, and Tsitsin during his short stay in India with a delegation of Soviet Cultural Workers had the chance to meet him.

Shri Nehru and the persons accompanying him began their acquaintance with the exhibits in the main pavilion, one of the largest buildings of the exhibition. The exposition of one of the chief halls of this pavilion showed that the industrialization of the Soviet Union served as the foundation of Socialist construction and the rapid development of agriculture after the peasants united into collective farms. The collective farm system established in the USSR has radically transformed farm production and improved the standard of living of scores of millions of peasants. In 1930 at the dawn of collectivization there were 961 machine and tractor stations in the country, now there are about 9,000 of them. These stations are equipped with powerful machinery, more than a million tractors (in terms of 15 HP Units), about 300,000 combines, and many other machines.

After acquainting themselves with the exhibits of the main pavilion the Indian guests entered the pavilion of the Uzbek SSR. In this pavilion the achievements of 13 collective farms, 6 state farms, two machine and tractor stations, ten research and experiment institutions, five livestock farms, and work of four advanced farmers were demonstrated on 66 stands. A special hall in the pavilion was devoted to cotton, the staple crop of this Republic. Uzbekistan produces more than 60 percent of all the raw cotton in the USSR. The development of this profitable branch of industry is promoted by the large-scale building of irrigation systems. The development of irrigation has made it possible for the Uzbek cotton growers to increase the areas under cotton in 1954 more than

threefold as compared with 1913 and to irrigate over 1,800,000 hectares of new lands.

### HEROES OF LABOUR :

On examining the pavilion of the Uzbek SSR, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru became interested in the Astrakhan skins exhibited there. The Astrakhan sheep breeding hall demonstrated the works of the best farms engaged in this industry in the Uzbek SSR which was always famous for its Astrakhan skins. Today this Republic produces 37 percent of all the Astrakhan skins put out in the USSR. The state offers much help to the Astrakhan—sheep breeders. 15 animals husbandry machine stations have been organized for the better production and processing of forage and many mechanized wells have been built in the district of the desert and semi-desert pastures. Many shepherds have had the title of 'hero of socialist labour' conferred upon them. They are depicted on a large artistic panel in the hall.

In the "Turkmen SSR" pavilion which Shri Nehru visited after that he became interested in the map depicting the line of the Kara Kum Canal which is being built in Turkmenia to bring life to the hot sands of the desert. The length of the first part of the canal is four hundred kilometres. Beside that two new reservoirs with a total capacity of 500 million cubic metres are being built. The exploitation of the Kara-Kum Canal will ensure an increment of 100,000 hectares of irrigated land. New cotton fields will appear in the desert. Detailed material concerning the development of water conservation in the Soviet Union the guests found in the "Water Conservation" pavilion there they became acquainted with the construction of powerful hydroelectric stations. In this pavilion Prime Minister Nehru became interested in the new system of irrigation practised in the Central Asian Republics. The application of temporary irrigation canals on the collective farms and state farms makes it possible to mechanize all the work on the irrigated lands. Here also the Prime Minister of India learned about the methods of mechanized cleaning of the canals which are applied in the USSR and with the modern technique of delivering and distributing water in the irrigation network of the USSR.

A large building with a tall glass dome housed the "farm mechanization and electrification pavilion" which Shri Nehru visited. In this pavilion over 1,400 types of Soviet farm machines and implements were demonstrated. In the main hall

the powerful technique of Soviet Agriculture was demonstrated on special platforms. Shri Nehru paid special attention to the Soviet passenger car "Gaz-69". It has a highly practicable machine to go smoothly under conditions of the unpaved roads in the rural districts.

He also turned his attention to the new Soviet Cotton Harvesting Machines. The latest Soviet machinery for cultivating cotton is shown in the pavilion: drills for square-hill sowing of the crop, rotating hoes, mounted cultivators with adjustments for the simultaneous spreading of manures, and machines for combating farm pests. In this pavilion the Indian guests were acquainted with the new models of cotton harvesting machines adjusted to work in the narrow interrow spaces. In memory of their visit to the USSR Agricultural Exhibition the Indian guests were presented with an album of the exhibition, guide-books, and photographs of its sights. This visit would be long remembered by the workers and visitors of the exhibition who warmly greeted Shri Nehru wherever he went. The following lines written by Nehru in the visitors' book of USSR Agricultural Exhibition would serve to remind them of this day: "This is a splendend exhibition and the only thing I regret is that I could not stay here longer."

The Leningrad branch of the Central Scientific Library of Agriculture organised an exhibition "May Friendship Between Peoples of USSR and India Develop and Grow Stronger". The books, magazines, pamphlets and illustrations deal with India's past and present, and showed the growth of its economic and cultural ties with the Soviet Union. Extremely interesting was the section of the exhibition displaying the books and magazines received by the library from India at different times. Here may be found a rare edition of E. Lamansky's book "India", dating back to the end of the last century, scientific magazines on agriculture issued in Calcutta, and the book "India's Plants". On display were the latest publications of Indian agricultural institutions, including "Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture in Assam" (North-East Province of India) which contained valuable information about experimental researches on cultivation of fodder grasses and development of animal husbandry.

## PRESS CONFERENCE :

On June 21, following a lengthy tour of the Soviet Union, India's Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru held a Press conference in Moscow attended by about 200 numerous Soviet

## NEHRU CONQUERS RUSSIA

and foreign correspondents, including those from India. In reply to correspondents' queries, he spoke of the impressions of his tour of the Soviet Union, the growing friendship between the peoples of India and the USSR, the technical assistance and consultations rendered by the Union to the people of India in the development of the national industry. He also spoke of the importance that the friendship of India and the USSR had for the relaxation of international tension. He expressed the hope that international tension would be eased by the day.

Shri Nehru announced in the Press Conference that Marshal Nikolai Bulganin, the Soviet Prime Minister, had accepted his invitation to visit India. The date for the visit had not yet been fixed, but that "normally when people come to India, they come in the winter when they consider the climate more suitable". The Prime Minister declined to go into the details of his talks with the Soviet leaders since his arrival on June 7, but said they discussed "problems of peace", disarmament and Indo-China.

Asked what subjects he considered should be raised at the Geneva "Big Four summit talks" on July 18, he said whether Indo-China was to be discussed depended on circumstances, but "no doubt European problems and the Far Eastern situation will be discussed" adding, "and obviously subjects which create tension. These are the main heads I think any subject could be raised not with a view to a sudden decision but to clear the path for a more detailed consideration. Subjects which create tension should come first, for instance the Far Eastern situation. Whether Indo-China comes up or not, I do not know. It will depend on circumstances".

Asked by a Chinese correspondent what could be done to promote international co-operation and reduce tension, mistrust and lack of confidence, Shri Nehru replied: "I think one has to proceed step by step. One cannot expect some magical change suddenly. The first thing is to desire the reduction of tension. If the desire is there ways can be found to give effect to it. I believe there is "a widespread desire to lessen tension. It is hoped that a four-Power conference will reduce tension and help to some extent in the solution of problems."

When asked whether he was planning to visit London after the invitation received on that day from Sir Anthony Eden, Shri Nehru replied: "I am not sure. It is rather difficult to organise. There is a possibility that I may be going

there, but it will have to be for a short time as I must get back to India."

Asked by a reporter of the "Pravda" what measures should be taken in Asia and in the world to reduce tension, Shri Nehru replied : "To become more friendly with each other and not to say unfriendly things about each other. This is the approach. First you must create a climate, then take up each problem and try to settle it. The first thing is to create a climate of lessening the tension. The Soviet Government expressed willingness to assist India technically and to supply equipment. The type of aid which India envisaged was an iron and steel plant, which is being constructed in India with Soviet expert advice. This is a private business deal and India is paying for machinery and equipment which she receives. Some Soviet scientists have gone to India for consultation and others may go to India and India may obtain some Soviet machinery for specific purposes. We are not thinking in terms of financial aid. I have not thought in terms of loans from the Soviet Union. Soviet aid will be essentially technical aid on a purely business basis.

Asked if India envisaged co-operation with the Soviet Union in the sphere of nuclear energy. Shri Nehru replied : "We have not discussed this matter. It may be in future that we may consult each other. A conference at Geneva will shortly take place on the peaceful uses of atomic energy." About his talks with Soviet leaders, Shri Nehru said that the two countries had no specific problems to discuss, but there were problems of common interest such as peace, disarmament and Indo-China where India, the Soviet Union and Britain were all concerned as India has a Chairman on the Indo-China Supervision Commission, and the Soviet Union and Britain were co-Chairmen at last year's Geneva conference. Those were more or less the international subjects discussed.

Asked what significance he attached to cultural relations with the Soviet Union, Shri Nehru replied that he attached significance to the development of cultural relations with all countries. About Bandung conference he believed that its influence had been a healthy one and powerful not only in Asia and Africa, but that it had some effect also in Europe and America. The main thing there was that countries which differed from each other could agree unanimously in an important and comprehensive statement, adding "I say with great respect that it might serve as an example to others."

Asked by an Indian correspondent if it could be assumed

that there were no political strings attached to Soviet economic aid for India, Shri Nehru smiled and replied : 'Of course, no political strings. I have seen big and very impressive factories in the Soviet Union. I think, by and large, a quite remarkable achievement. There has been a tremendous transformation in the Soviet Union.'

Immediately after the press conference, which lasted for 30 minutes, Shri Nehru drove to Moscow's Dynamo Stadium.

## ROUND OF FUNCTIONS :

On June 21 Mr. Saburov, First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and Chairman of the State Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers for the current planning of national economy (the State Economic Commission of the USSR), received Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, and had a long talk with him. Present at the talk were Mr. N. R. Pillai, Mr. M. A. Husain. Also present were N.K. Baibakov, Chairman of the State Commission of the Council of Ministers of the USSR for the long-term planning (the State Planning Commission of the USSR). I. Y. Antropov, Minister of Geology and Mineral Conservation, V. V. Kuznetsov, First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, V.N. Starovsky head of the Central Statistical Board of the Council of Ministers of the U S S R, P. V. Nikitin, First Vice-Chairman of the State Economic Commission of the USSR, B. N. Bezrukov D. D. Degtyar, P. S. Ivanov and B. V. Savelichev, members of the State Planning Commission of the USSR, G. M. Sorokin, Vice-Chairman of the State Planning Commission of the USSR and M. A. Menshikov, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the USSR to the Republic of India.

The same day Shri Jawaharlal Nehru attended a luncheon given in his honour by the heads of the diplomatic representatives of the countries participants of the Bandung Conference accredited in the USSR: Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Union of Burma Maung Ohn, Nguyen Long Bang of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, K. P. S. Menon of the Republic of India, G. Tarzi of Afghanistan, Subandrio of the Republic of Indonesia, S. Esin of Turkey and Liu Hsiao of the Chinese People's Republic, Envoys Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary G. Zallaka of Ethiopia, S. Saeshthaputra of Thailand, F. Khani of Syria and A. Najjar of the Lebanon, Chargesd' Affaires and interim A. Etessami of Iran, M. Ahmad of Pakistan N. Kedri of Egypt. The luncheon was also attended by Mrs. Indira

Gandhi, Mr. N. R. Pillai, and Mr. M. A. Husain. Present from the Soviet side were N. A. Bulganin, L. M. Kaganovich, N. S. Khrushchev, G. M. Malenkov, A. I. Mikoyan, M. G. Pervukhin, M. Z. Sgbarove, V. V. Kuznetsov and V. A. Zorin Deputy Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the USSR; M. A. Menshikov, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the USSR to the Republic of India, G. T. Zaichikov, head of the Department of the Near and Middle East of the USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs, F. F. Molotov, Chief of the Protocol Department of the USSR, Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. A. Maksimov, Deputy Chief of the Department of South-East Asia of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and A. M. Ledovsky, Deputy Chief of the Far Eastern Department of the USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Mr. N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, had a conversation with Shri Nehru, in the Kremlin on June 21, L. M. Kaganovich, N. S. Khrushchev and A. I. Mikoyan took part in the conversation.

Present were the persons accompanying Shri Nehru : Mr. N. R. Pillai, and Mr. P. N. Kaul, Present from the Soviet side were : A. A. Gromyko and V. V. Kuznetsov, First Deputy Ministers of Foreign Affairs.

The conversation proceeded in a cordial, friendly atmosphere. The official talks were believed to have taken up some of the offers of economic co-operation in the execution of India's second Five-Year Plan, understood to have been made by Marshal Bulganin at the first talk. With Indian draft Second Five Year-Plan, looming large, Shri Nehru is taking a new interest in economic matters. It was, however, Marshal Bulganin who led the talks on economic relations at the first official talks. He is anxious to bring about the steady development of Soviet Indian economic relations and would like to see the Soviet Union having a considerable share in the supply of machinery to India as the industrial side of the Second-5 Year Plan advances. At the talks he took up some of the offers of economic co-operation understood to have been made by Marshal Bulganin.

The Indian Prime Minister attended the ballet, "The Fountain of Bakhchisari" at the Bolshoi Theatre on June 21. He was accompanied by Mrs Indira Gandhi, Mr. N. R. Pillai and Mr. K. P. S. Menon. The performance was attended by N. A. Bulganin, L. M. Kaganovich, N. S. Khrushchev and A. I. Mikoyan also. The audience ardently greeted Prime Minister Shri Nehru and

the leaders of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government. After the performance, Shri Nehru accompanied by Mrs Indira Gandhi, Mr. K. P. S. Menon, N. A. Mikhailov, Minister of Culture of the USSR and M. I. Chulaki the Theatre Director, walked on the stage. Shri Nehru warmly thanked the cast and presented flowers to G. Ulanova and M. Plisetskaya who danced leading roles.

Shri Nehru, his daughter Mrs Indira Gandhi, Mr. N. R. Pillai and Mr. M. A. Husain, visited the first atomic electric power station of the USSR Academy of Sciences on June 22. He was accompanied by L. M. Kaganovich and A. I. Mikoyan, First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Minister of the USSR. Mr. V. V. Kuznetsov, First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Mr. K. P. S. Menon, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of India and the diplomatic personnel of the Embassy, and F. F. Molochkov, Chief of the protocol Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR also were with the party.

The industrial power station with a capacity of 5,000 kilowatts, is claimed to be the first of its kind in world. It is "somewhere" outside Moscow. The Prime Minister motored to the plant early in the morning and spent about three hours there. Indian journalists who had travelled with the Prime Minister during his tour of Russia were not included in the party that visited the atomic plant, which began operating a year ago. Marshal Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, received in the Kremlin Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of the Republic of India, L. M. Kaganovich, A. I. Mikoyan and N. S. Khrushchev took part in the conversation. The members of Shri Nehru's party were also present. Present from the Soviet side were: A. A. Gromyko and V. V. Kuznetsov, First Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR. The conversation passed in an atmosphere of cordiality and friendship. In the evening Shri Jawaharlal Nehru held a reception. Present from Soviet side were: N. A. Bulganin, K. E. Voroshilov, L. M. Kaganovich, G. M. Malenkov, A. I. Mikoyan, M. G. Pervukhin, M. Z. Saburov, N. S. Khrushchev, the Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation A. M. Puzanov, USSR Ministers, high officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, the Ministry of Defence of the USSR, the Ministry Culture of the USSR and the Ministry of Foreign Trade, leading functionaries of the

Central Council of Trade Unions, workers in science, culture and the arts, Soviet and foreign journalists. Besides Mrs. Indira Gandhi all the members of Nehru party were present. The reception was also attended by heads of Embassies and Legations accredited in Moscow. The Learned Council of Lomonosov State University of Moscow held a session on June 21. The first item on the agenda was the proposal of the Council of the Law Department to confer the degree of honorary Doctor of Law of Moscow University on Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, outstanding statesman of the Republic of India.

A. G. Lashin, the Dean of the Law Department giving the motives for the proposal, said, we know Shri Nehru, our colleague in the profession and practical work, as an active member of the movement for national liberation, champion for the national independence of India and political leader of a great nation.

Shri Nehru, occupying concurrently the post of Minister for External Affairs of India, has always advocated and is advocating the principles of international law, recognition of the sovereign rights of nations, big and small, relaxation of international tension in Asia and the rest of the world. The proposal was unanimously approved by the Learned Council of the University and the scientists present at session. The Learned Council unanimously resolved to confer the degree of honorary Doctor of Law of Moscow University on Shri Jawaharlal Nehru.

N. A. Bulganin gave on June 22 a dinner in the great Kremlin Palace in honour of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. Present at the dinner were besides Shri Nehru, his daughter Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Mr. N. R. Pillai and Mr. M. A. Hussain.

The dinner was also attended by Ambassador Mr. K. P. S. Menon and his wife, Mr. P. N. Kaul and Military Attache of the Embassy D. L. Nawanati. Besides the Soviet leaders, many Journalists were also present.

Speeches were exchanged during the dinner which passed in an atmosphere of great warmth and cordiality.



## CHAPTER NINE

### Among 1,00,000 Russians

At the Dynamo Stadium nearly 1,00,000 Moscow citizens heard India's Prime Minister Nehru in pin-drop silence when he addressed them in Hindi. Russia's Prime Minister, Marshal Bulganin and other Soviet leaders were present in a pavilion which was gaily decorated with Indian and Russian flags and flags of the Soviet Republics. The massed thousands burst into wild clapping and cheering as Shri Nehru stood before them and began his speech. Loud cheers were vociferous when Shri Nehru mentioned recent Russian efforts to lessen international tension, China's right of admission to the U. N. and praise of Soviet industrial enterprise and of the warm welcome given to him throughout his tour of the country.

Like the Chief Speaker, Marshal Bulganin expressed his faith in the Five Principles which he said were the basis of Indo-Soviet relations and praised the contribution made by the Bandung Conference and to Russia's own efforts to lower world tension. He spoke with warm admiration of India's role in world affairs and of Shri Nehru personally as a "courageous fighter for peace". Marshal Bulganin did not forget to refer to China's claim to Formosa. Bright sunshine filled the Dynamo Stadium, which is four times the size of New Delhi's National Stadium, during the speeches of Shri Nehru and Marshal Bulganin. On the grassy football field in the centre nearly 1,000 boys and girls in the colourful physical culture costumes made an attractive formation and clapped above their heads. After Shri Nehru had read a long prepared statement a translation in Russian was made by Mr. P. N. Kaul, First Secretary in the Indian Embassy who has been acting as the Indian Prime Minister's principal interpreter during the visit. Marshal Bulganin's speech was translated by a Russian. Both the speeches by the Indian and Russian Prime Ministers were filmed, televised and relayed by all the Moscow Radio stations.

When the Indian Prime Minister appeared, the front rank rushed forward, throwing flowers to the crowd while some made their way up to the box to present posies to Shri Nehru personally. After the speeches, the sports youth used coloured flags to spell out 'U. S. S. R.' 'India' and 'Mir' (peace) in Russian letters. At the same time, motor cycles with sidecars.

drove round the track, carrying girls in blue sports out-fits, holding Soviet and Indian flags and banner marked 'Mir'.

### NEHRU'S SPEECH :

The following is the text of the speech delivered by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru at the Soviet-Indian Friendship meeting held on June 21 in the Moscow Dynamo Stadium.

Esteemed Mr. Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR,

Mr. Chairman of the Moscow Soviet,

Dear Friends !

I beg to be excused for being unable to address you in Russian, your native language. For this reason you will have to listen to the translation.

Two weeks ago we came to the Soviet Union and soon we shall be leaving this great country. During this period we have travelled some thirteen thousand kilometres, visited many a famous city and seen many wonderful things. But the most wonderful of all this has been the welcome that we received wherever we went and the affection that people showered upon us. We are infinitely grateful for this affection and welcome, and I cannot express my thanks to the people of the Soviet Union adequately in words. (Stormy prolonged applause). Nevertheless, I wish to express our gratitude to you, Mr. Prime Minister, to your government, and to your people, and I would beg you to convey this expression of our deep feeling to the people of the Soviet Union who have so honoured us. (Applause). We came here to convey to the people of this great country the greetings and good wishes of the Indian people. (Prolonged applause). We go back laden with your affection and good wishes for our country and people. (Prolonged applause).

We did not come here as strangers for many of us have followed with deep interest the great changes and developments that have taken place in the Soviet Union. Almost contemporaneously with your October Revolution, under the leadership of the great Lenin, we in India started a new phase of our struggle for freedom. Our people were engrossed in this struggle for many years and faced heavy repression with courage and endurance. Even though we pursued a different path in our struggle, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi we admired Lenin and were influenced by his example.

(Prolonged applause). In spite of this difference in our methods there was at no time unfriendly feeling among our people towards the people of the Soviet Union. We did not understand some of the developments in your country, as you might not have understood much that we did. We wished the Soviet Union well in the great and novel experiment it was making and tried to learn from it where we could. The back-grounds of our respective countries were different: their goegraphy, history, traditions, culture and circumstances in which they had to fuction.

We believed that the domination of one country over another was bad and, while we struggled for our own freedom, we sympathized with the endeavours of other countries, suffering alien or autocratic rule, to free themselves. Each country and people have been conditioned by their own past and by the experiences they have gone through and have developed a certain individuality. They cannot progress under alien rule or if something from the outside is imposed upon them. They can only grow if they develop self-reliance and their own strength and maintain their own integrity. We have all to learn from others and cannot isolate ourselves but that learning cannot be fruitful if it is an imposition. We believe in democracy and in equality and in the removal of special privilege and we have set ourselves the goal of developing a socialist pattern of society in our country through peaceful methods. (Stormy applause). Whatever shape that pattern of socialism or democracy might take, it must lead to open access to knowledge and equal opportunity for all.

## PANCH SHILA :

It is in recognition of the right of each country to fashion its own destiny that the Government of India and the People's Government of China have agreed to five principles to govern their relations with each other. These principles are :

1. Respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty,
2. Non-aggression,
3. Non-interference in each other's internal affairs,
4. Equality and mutual benefit and
5. Peaceful co-existence.

Subsequently these principles were accepted by Burma and

## PILGRIMAGE FOR PEACE

Yugoslavia, and Soviet Government has also expressed its approval of them. (Stormy applause). At the Bandung Conference these principles were elaborated into ten and embodied in a declaration on world peace and co-operation. Thus over thirty countries have accepted them. I have no doubt that these principles of international behaviour, if accepted and acted upon by all the countries of the world, would go a long way to put an end to the fears and apprehensions which cast a dark shadow over the world.

The progress of science and its offspring, technology, have changed the world we live in, and recent advances in science are changing the way men think of themselves and of the world. Even conceptions of time and space have changed and vast expanses open out for us to explore the mysteries of nature and to apply our knowledge for the betterment of humanity. Science and technology have freed humanity from many of its burdens, and given us this new perspective, and great power. That power can be used for the good of all, if wisdom governs our actions, or if the world is mad or foolish, it can destroy itself just when great advances and triumphs are almost within its grasp. The question of peace to the peoples becomes of paramount importance if this world of ours is to make progress, indeed even to survive. Peace, in our view, is not merely an abstention from war but an active and positive approach to international relations to the lessening of present day tension and an attempt to solve our problems by methods of negotiation and then a growing co-operation between nations in various ways. Cultural and scientific contacts can increase as well as trade and the commerce of ideas and exchange of experience and information. We should endeavour to remove all walls and barriers to the growth of our minds and hearts and such as come in the way of international co-operation. There is no reason why countries having different political or social or economic systems should not co-operate in this way, provided there is no interference with each other and no imposition or attempt to dominate.

Wherever I have gone in the Soviet Union, I have found a passion for peace. I believe that the vast majority of people in every country hunger for peace, but fear of others often clouds their minds and makes them act in a different way. It is this fear and hatred that we must shed and try to cultivate the climate of peace. Out of war or threat of war or continuous preparations for war, no peace can emerge.

In India we have been devoted to the cause of peace and even in our struggles we have endeavoured to pursue methods of peace. For our own progress as well as for the causes that are dear to us peace is essential. We will therefore strive for peace to the utmost of our ability and co-operate with other nations in this vital task. I should like to congratulate the Government of the Soviet Union on the several steps it has taken in recent months which have lessened the world tension and contributed to the cause of peace. (Stormy applause). In particular, I trust that the recent proposals of the Soviet Union in regard to disarmament will lead to progress being made towards the solution of this difficult problem. Disarmament is essential if fear is to be removed and peace assured. We plan for our material and cultural advance in our respective countries. Let us also plan for the peaceful co-operation of different countries for the common good and the elimination of war. Countries make pacts and alliances, often through fear of some other country or countries. Let our coming together be because we like each other and wish to co-operate and not because we dislike others and wish to do them injury. (Applause).

As I speak to you, the United Nations is holding a special session in San Francisco to celebrate the 10th anniversary of its foundation. The United Nations is based on a charter nobly worded and aiming at peaceful co-operation. The hopes that the peoples of the world had in this world organization have not been wholly fulfilled and much has happened that came in the way of the ideals of the Charter. I earnestly hope that in this new decade of the United Nations which is now beginning, these hopes will find fulfilment. (Prolonged applause). But the United Nations cannot represent all the peoples of the world if some nations are kept out of its scope. More particularly, we have long felt that the non-recognition by the United Nations of the great People's Republic of China is not only an anomaly and not in keeping with the spirit of the Charter but is also a danger to the promotion of peace and the solution of the world's problems. (Prolonged applause).

One of the most vital problems of today is that of the Far East and this cannot be settled without the good-will and co-operation of the the People's Republic of China. I hope I shall see the People's Republic of China taking its rightful place in the United Nations (Stormy applause), and the attempts being made to find a solution of the problems of the

Far East will meet with increasing success. We live in a vital developing world, going forward to new discoveries and new triumphs, where man has increasing power at his disposal. Let us hope that this power will be controlled and governed by wisdom and tolerance, each nation contributing to the common good.

I have been deeply impressed by the great achievements of the Soviet Union. I have seen the transformation of this vast land through the industry of its people and the great urge that drives them forward to better their own condition. I have admired the music and dancing and the superb ballets that I have seen. I have been impressed most of all by the great care taken by the Soviet State and by the people of the children and the younger generation of this great country.

I wish to thank you again, Mr. Prime Minister and your government and your people for their friendliness and generous hospitality. The people of India wish you well and look forward to co-operate with you in many fields of common endeavour for the good of our respective countries as well as for the large cause of humanity. (Stormy applause).

Long live friendship and co-operation between our peoples and the other countries of the world for the good of humanity ! (Stormy applause).

### BULGANIN'S SPEECH :—

The following is the text of the speech delivered by Marshal N. A. Bulganin, at the meeting which Shri Nehru had addressed earlier :

Comrades ! Esteemed Prime Minister ! Friends !

On behalf of the Soviet Government, on behalf of the representatives of Moscow's working folk assembled here and the whole Soviet people as well as on my own behalf I thank our esteemed guest Shri Nehru, Prime Minister of the Republic of India, for his warm and friendly words about our country. For us, Soviet people, it was pleasant to hear these words of Shri Nehru whom we know as one of the outstanding leaders of the struggle of the Indian people for national independence as a courageous fighter for peace. (Stormy applause). Soviet people have welcomed Shri Nehru in their country with affection, joy and sincere friendship regarding him as a representative and envoy of the great Indian people.

Friendly relations between our country and India have

existed for a long time. The industry and talents of the multi-national people of India, four hundred million strong, who have created throughout their history of many centuries immortal cultural monuments, their steadfast striving for freedom and national independence, their invariable love for peace have won the profound respect and ardent sympathies of the peoples of our country. (Applause). Soviet men and women follow with close interest and sympathy the efforts of the great Indian people to build up in their country a socialist pattern of society and acclaim their achievements in advancing their economy and developing the national industry. Soviet-Indian relations are being built on a solid and reliable basis. They are founded on the principles of respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence. These principles of peace-loving foreign policy were proclaimed by India and the People's Republic of China. Subsequently Burma and Yugoslavia subscribed to them and then, as Shri Nehru said here, they were approved at the Bandung Conference by 29 countries of Asia and Africa and embodied in the declaration on world peace and co-operation adopted by that Conference. The Soviet Government also approves of these principles and believes that they could become a common platform of all the peoples in maintaining and strengthening peace. (Applause).

Soviet-Indian relations are convincing confirmation of the validity of the principle proclaimed by the great Lenin on the possibility of peaceful co-existence and co-operation of nations with different social and political systems. The persistent striving for peace and friendship with all the peoples and the struggle for removing international tension bring especially closely together the Soviet Union and India. Our peoples, engrossed in peaceful constructive labours do not want war. They are going forward, each in their own way, to a new, better life. The safeguarding of peace and the security of the peoples has always been and remains the basic goal and supreme principle of the Soviet Union's foreign policy. The Soviet Union has taken a series of new steps lately towards easing world tensions and removing distrust in international relations. These are :- conclusion of a State Treaty with Austria, the proposals of the Soviet Union on reduction of armaments, prohibition of atomic weapons and removal of the threat of another war, normalization of relations between the USSR and Yugoslavia, the proposal for the establishment of diplomatic and trade relations between the USSR and the German Federal Republic, Soviet-Japanese negotiations and others.

The Soviet Government has agreed to take part in the meeting of the heads of the governments of the four Powers scheduled to open in Geneva on July 18. We proceed from the premise that the purpose of the conference will be to alleviate international tension and promote confidence in international relations. We will bend every effort to achieve this goal and hope that the other parties to the conference will strive to do the same. (Stormy prolonged applause). The contribution made by the Soviet Union to strengthening peace meets with sympathetic response and support of all the peace loving peoples including the Indian people. The Soviet people highly value the big contribution to peace made by India of late. An armistice was established in Korea and hostilities were ended in Indo-China with the active participation of India together with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

India was one of the sponsors of the Asian-African Conference in Bandung which was an important contribution to the struggle of the peoples of Asia and Africa for their rights and independence, to the consolidation of world peace.

India just as the Soviet Union, stands for reduction of armaments and armed forces and prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons. We hope to have in Shri Nehru and the Government of India an ally and friend in implementing the extensive and radical programme for reduction of armaments and prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons proposed by the Soviet Government. (Stormy applause). India and the Soviet Union are making joint efforts towards successful solution of the Taiwan problem with due regard to the national interests of the Chinese people.

The joint struggle of India and the Soviet Union for giving the People's Republic of China its rightful place in the United Nations is earning special gratitude of all the peace-loving peoples (Stormy prolonged applause). In their vigorous struggle for removing international tension, for peace and co-operation between the peoples, the Soviet Union and India are invariably guided by the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

The jubilee session marking the 10th anniversary of the United Nations was opened in San Francisco yesterday. In all parts of the world men and women profoundly hope that the jubilee session will serve as the starting point for new steps towards safeguarding peace and international security. On behalf of our country I greet today the jubilee session dedicated to the 10th anniversary of the United Nations and I express the ardent wish

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of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government that this organization of the peoples of the world may continue to work perseveringly to attain the ideals of the United Nations Charter in the interest of universal peace and security. Our country and government will do everything in their power to facilitate the attainment of these lofty aims. (Stormy applause).

Co-operation between the Soviet Union and India is not limited to international relations. Speaking about friendship and co-operation between the Soviet Union and India we cannot but note the continuous extension of mutually advantageous economic relations and cultural ties which help to bring our peoples still closer together. There can be no doubt that Shri Nehru's visit to the Soviet Union, close communication with the Soviet people and establishment of personal contact with the leaders of the Soviet Union will further and strengthen friendship and co-operation between our countries. I am happy to say that the exchange of opinions between us has shown mutual understanding and unanimity of view on a number of questions of major importance for reducing world tension. (Stormy prolonged applause). During his sojourn in the Soviet Union, Shri Nehru had the opportunity to see for himself that the Soviet people sincerely strive for the preservation and consolidation of peace. Shri Nehru undoubtedly also had the opportunity to see that the people of our country entertain profound and sincere sympathies and friendship for the peoples of India. (Stormy applause).

On behalf of the Soviet people and the Government of the USSR I extend to you, Mr. Prime Minister, to the Government of India, to the whole Indian people our greetings and wishes of success in the development and prosperity of India. (Stormy prolonged applause. Cheers of "Hurrah!") Long live the friendship and co-operation of the peoples of the Soviet Union and India!

May Soviet-Indian friendship develop and grow stronger for the good of the peoples of both countries, for the benefit of world peace and security! (All rise. Stormy prolonged applause. Cheers of "Hurrah").



## CHAPTER TEN

### Historic Document

The Indian Prime Minister, Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru and Marshal Nikolai Bulganin, the Soviet Prime Minister, signed in the Kremlin on June 22 a joint declaration of principles agreed during Shri Nehru's stay in Russia.

The joint declaration was signed in a three-minute ceremony in one of the Czars old-time reception rooms—a former Imperial suite in the Kremlin. All Soviet leaders except President Voroshilov were present at the ceremony. Shri Nehru, wearing dark "Achkan" and Gandhi Cap

and Mr. Bulganin to whose tunic was pinned the gold star of "Hero of Socialist Labour" he was awarded on his 60th Birthday, signed simultaneously. Immediately after the signing ceremony, Mr. Bulganin turned to Shri Nehru and said: "I am sure you won't refuse a cup of tea." Shri Nehru did not and went into the Banqueting Hall.

Mr. Khrushchev and other members of the Government and also Mr. Zhukov watched the signing ceremony. Mr. Khrushchev led a round of applause after the two Prime Ministers had signed separate copies of the declaration bound in a red folder which rested on a green baize table.

The two Prime Ministers conferred earlier together in the Kremlin for 75 minutes—the third formal discussion they had had since Shri Nehru arrived there on June 7.

The Soviet Communist Party Secretary, Mr. Khrushchev, again joined in the talks as he did a day before, and other participants were two Soviet Deputy Prime Ministers, Mr. Lazar Kaganovich, who is chiefly concerned with industry, and Mr. Anastas Mikoyan, who is responsible for trade and economic affairs. The contents of the joint declaration were not immediately disclosed. Asked at a reception given by Shri Nehru that night how the talks had gone, Mr. Mikoyan pointed at the smiling faces around him and replied: "You can judge by the faces how negotiations were conducted". Mr. Kaganovich told a Western reporter: "I recommend you to say: 'we saw smiling faces and shining eyes and great liveliness.'"

As soon as the talks ended, Shri Nehru gave a reception for Marshal Bulganin, Mr. Khrushchev and other top Soviet leaders. All members of the Communist Party Presidium, including Mr. Malenkov, the former Premier, were present.

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In this function alcoholic drinks were not served in accordance with Indian custom and all the guests drank grape and tomato juice. During the course of the party, the Yugoslav Ambassador, Mr. Dubrovije Vidic, had a long talk with Mr. Khrushchev, Marshal Bulganin, Mr. Mikoyan and Mr. Kaganovich.

Shri Nehru and the Soviet leaders left immediately afterwards for a Kremlin function given in his honour by Marshal Bulganin.

Diplomatic circles in the Kremlin, especially of countries in Asia and Africa, seem very jubilant over the happy consummation of important talks between the two Prime Ministers of Russia and India and they openly concede that this Indo-Soviet declaration may be considered a land-mark not only in relations between the two countries concerned but also in future international relations.

The following is the text of the joint statement issued to the press simultaneously on June 23 at Moscow and Delhi:—

At the invitation of the Government of the USSR, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, has paid a visit to the Soviet Union. During his stay in Moscow, he had several talks with Mr. Bulganin, Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, and other members of the Soviet Government. These talks have taken place in a friendly and cordial atmosphere, and have covered, over a wide range, both matters of mutual interest to the two countries and the larger problems of international interest and concern arising from current world affairs.

The relations between the Soviet Union and India happily rest on a firm foundation of friendship and mutual understanding. The Prime Ministers are resolved that these relations shall continue to be informed and guided by the following principles:

1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty;
2. Non-aggression;
3. Non-interference in each other's internal affairs for any reasons—of an economic, political or ideological character;
4. Equality and mutual benefit, and
5. Peaceful co-existence.

The Prime Ministers are convinced that these principles,

which have lately received an increasing measure of recognition are capable of wider application and that in the observance of these principles by nations in the conduct of their mutual relations lies the main hope of banishing fear and mistrust from their minds and thus of lowering world tensions. The wider acceptance of these principles will enlarge the area of peace, promote mutual confidence amongst nations and pave the way for greater international co-operation. In the climate of peace thus created, it will become possible to seek peaceful solutions of international questions by the methods of negotiation and conciliation. Both Prime Ministers recognise that, in various parts of the world, there is, on the part of the smaller and the weaker states, a vague and possibly unreasoning fear of bigger powers. They feel that it is essential to dispel this fear in all possible ways. Here, again, the best remedy is to adhere unflinchingly to the principles of co-existence enunciated above.

The Prime Ministers acclaim the results of the Asian-African Conference held at Bandung in April last. The Conference was of historic importance as being the first of its kind, at which independent nations of two continents, with differing political and social systems, met together for the common purpose of devising ways and means of achieving fuller economic, cultural and political co-operation. The results of the Conference have been noteworthy and are of deep significance, not only to the participating countries themselves, but generally to the cause of world peace. The Prime Ministers wish to commend, in particular, the declaration on promotion of world peace and co-operation, adopted by the Conference, which embodies and elaborates the concept of peaceful co-existence.

The Prime Ministers recognize that there have been signs of improvement in the general international situation. In particular, they welcome the lessening of tension in the Far East, the advent of Austrian independence, the improved relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia and the keener and more general appreciation now discernible everywhere of the dangers of war in an atomic age. Nevertheless in large areas fear and suspicion dominate the minds of men and nations and vitiate international relations. In the Far East, while there has been a lessening of tension, the causes of tension still remain.

It is the earnest hope of both Prime Ministers that it will be possible by peaceful means to satisfy the legitimate rights of the Chinese People's Republic in regard to Taiwan. At the

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should be allowed to stand in the way of the imposition of a complete ban on the production, experimentation and use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons of war. At the same time, they consider that there should be a simultaneous and substantial reduction of conventional armaments and that effective international control should be established and maintained to implement such disarmament and prohibition. In this connection the recent Soviet proposals on disarmament were acknowledged as a substantial contribution to peace.

The Prime Ministers believe that, under the aegis of the five principles enunciated in this statement, there is ample scope for the development of cultural, economic and technical co-operation between their two states. The fact that each country is following a system, which is moulded by its own genius, traditions and environment, should be no bar to such co-operation. Indeed, the essence of true co-existence in which both Prime Ministers have profound faith, is that states of different social structures can exist side by side in peace and concord and work for the common good.

Already, aided by a trade agreement concluded some time ago, there has been a marked development in co-operation between the two countries in the cultural and economic spheres. The recent agreement in regard to the construction of a steel plant in India with the assistance of the Soviet Government is a notable example of such co-operation. The two Prime Ministers, taking note of the mutual benefits of such co-operation, will seek to promote and strengthen the relations between their two countries in the economic and cultural fields as well as in that of scientific and technical research.

Both Prime Ministers are gratified at the opportunity they have had of personal discussion and exchange of views on matters of mutual interest to them, and are confident that the results of their talks and the friendly contacts which have been established will further strengthen and develop the relations between the two countries and their peoples and will serve the interests of world peace.

(Signed) N. Bulganin  
Chairman of the Council of  
Ministers of the USSR.

Jawaharlal Nehru  
Prime Minister of India.



## CHAPTER ELEVEN

### World Reactions

The joint declaration of Marshal N. A. Bulganin and Shri Jawaharlal Nehru appeared in all the newspapers. On the same day. This historically-significant document has been greeted with tremendous satisfaction by the peace-loving nations—the peace-loving peoples, which have followed the talks in Moscow with enormous interest, and have hoped that they would result in a new and important contribution to international co-operation and to strengthening peace and friendship among the nations.

The hopes of the peoples, who thirst for peace, have been fully justified. From beginning to end the declaration is filled with great concern for peace and the security of nations. At the same time, it indicates paths, methods and means by which governments and peoples can avoid another war, a war which, despite the will of the peoples, the aggressive forces of the imperialist powers are striving to let loose.

The peace-loving peoples are acclaiming the statement of the heads of the two governments to the effect that nothing should be allowed to stand in the way of the imposition of a complete ban on the production, experimentation and use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons of war. These words will stimulate the activities of the peace champions in their fight for the complete prohibition of the weapons of mass destruction. "The common will, expressed in the statement by the two Premiers", the "Trybuna Ludu" says, "is an important contribution to the strengthening of peace and it will undoubtedly influence international developments. The Polish people are profoundly convinced that the stay in our country of the Premier of the four hundred million Indian nation, his meetings with leaders of our state will help to bring India and Poland closer together. This will be another step towards the extension of international co-operation."

The Bandung Conference of 29 countries of Asia and Africa was a vivid example of the beneficial effect of these principles of peaceful co-existence and co-operation. The chief hope of banishing fear and distrust from the consciousness of the peoples and thus lessening international tension lies in the application of these principles on a still wider scale.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, at the close of his visit to the

USSR, is believed to be in a unique position to assess latest developments in Russian policy. The Indian Premier is the first statesman of world stature, apart from Marshal Tito, to have talks at first hand with Soviet leaders since the change in Russian policy, signified by the signature of the Austrian State Treaty and the tabling of promising Soviet disarmament proposals.

It has been recognized that there are signs of improvement in the general international situation. At the same time, the situation in extensive areas darkens international relations. The reasons for the tension in the Far East still remain. The constantly-repeated refusal to allow the People's Republic of China into the United Nations lies at the bottom of many complications in the Far East and other regions.

The "Rebotnichesko Delo", (Sofia) in a leading article captioned "A Big Contribution to the Strengthening of Peace" says: This statement is a document of great historical significance. It provides a firm foundation for the further strengthening and extension of friendly relations between the peoples of the Soviet Union and India, and is a document imbued with great concern for peace. The joint statement is an expression of the will of these peoples to continue the persistent struggle for easing international tension, for strengthening peace and creating an atmosphere of confidence among the states. The "Otechstvan Front", another Sofia paper in a leading article entitled "A New Victory for the Peace Forces" says that the Soviet-Indian relations vividly and convincingly attest to the great viability of the teaching of Lenin on the possibility of peace, co-existence and co-operation of states with different social and political systems.

The Indonesian Press continued to devote much space to Premier Shri Nehru's visit to the Soviet Union. The papers prominently published the joint statement. The "Harian Rakjat" stresses that Shri Nehru's visit to the Soviet Union, Mr. Sastroamidjojo's visit to Peking and the trip of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam led by Ho Chi Minh to Peking and Moscow "are highly important events making for the consolidation of peace in Asia and the world over."

Peaceful co-existence creates a broad field for the development of cultural, economic and technical co-operation among the nations. Soviet-Indian relations may serve as a graphic example. The USSR and India have already achieved a noticeable development of co-operation in the spheres of culture and economy. Evidence of this co-operation is the recent agreement on the

building of an iron and steel plant in India with the help of the Soviet Government. Realizing the mutual advantages of such co-operation, the Soviet Union and India have recognized the need of developing and consolidating their relations both in the economic and cultural spheres as well as in the fields of scientific and technical research. There is no doubt that Prime Minister Shri Nehru's visit to the Soviet Union, his close intercourse with the Soviet people, and the establishment of personal contact with the leaders of the Soviet Union will contribute to the further development and consolidation of friendship and co-operation between the two countries.

### LONDON TIMES VIEWS :

"When he left Moscow," the London Times wrote, "Shri Nehru said that he was leaving part of his heart behind him in Russia. He certainly left a memorial to his literary style and political thought, for there are whole passages of the joint statement signed by him and Mr. Bulganin which are clearly his and his alone. The curious thing is that his Russian hosts let him put forward views (and they themselves endorsed them) not altogether in line with those which Mr. Molotov was putting forward in their name at San Francisco.

"Shri Nehru and Mr. Bulganin, surveying world dangers, placed prime importance on the now famous "five principles of co-existence" that were enshrined in the Chinese-Indian agreement over Tibet a year ago and have since been repeated in other Asian agreements. They approached the particular from the general. Mr. Molotov surveying the same dangers, seemed to reverse the process and ask for agreement first and foremost on practical military and political measures which, in his view, would open the way for disarmament and general relaxation. Again, Mr. Molotov put the blame for the present tension and disorders on the United States, even though he named no names. The Moscow statement referred to fear in general and even said, "There is on the part of the smaller and weaker nations a vague and possibly unreasoning fear of bigger Powers"—a remark that could refer to China and the Soviet Union just as much as to any other powers. Naturally Mr. Molotov is not being disavowed; he was giving the official line for the coming negotiations. It is rather that Mr. Bulganin and the others were well content for their own reasons to let Nehru do most of the shaping of the communique.

"Obviously they have an interest in securing the good—will of the greatest of the uncommitted Powers. They are glad

to show themselves before Asian and other peoples, in apparent harmony with Shri Nehru. On several great Asian questions they have indeed thought alike for a long time. Yes the statement also shows that Shri Nehru had pressed his own opinions on his Russian hosts. Even on Formosa there is no easy repetition of the Chinese claim for the island by means of cession or assault, the stress is on "Peaceful means," and no time limit is set for satisfying China's "legitimate rights." More broadly, a hint of complaint about communist intrigue (no doubt raised in the conversations) is reflected in the way the third of the "five principles" has been expanded. To the original words "non-interference in each other's internal affairs" is significantly added, "for any reason—whether of an economic, political, or ideological character." Too much should not be read into phrases. The Russians may think that they are chief gainers from the visit and they will make use of it in Asia to the full. But Shri Nehru, if he is a man of ideals, is also a stubborn and proud man. He may take the words of the statement more seriously than the Russians, and any infractions on their part may quickly lose them the good-will they believe they have gained."

The Rumanian newspapers extensively commented on the joint statement. In a leading article captioned "The Great Significance of the Friendship Between the USSR and India" the "Scanteia" wrote: "The joint statement—a document of great international significance—has been acclaimed by all the peoples of the world. It is an expression of the desire and will for peace of two great states playing an important part in international affairs" "The Soviet-Indian friendship," wrote another paper the "Romania Lihera" "the friendship of six hundred million people living in countries with different social and political systems, attests to the possibility of peaceful co-existence and co-operation of countries with different social and political systems. Resting on the firm and reliable foundation of the five principles of the joint statement, the Soviet-Indian relations are a valuable contribution to the strengthening of peace, security and friendship among the nations."

On June 24 all Helsinki papers extensively commented on the joint statement. The "Tyokansan Sanomat" and the "Helsingin Sanomat" printed the full text of the statement. A number of newspapers emphasized the five principles of peaceful co-existence which underlie Soviet-Indian relations as well as the statement expressing the firm conviction in the possibility of peaceful co-existence and demanding the uncondi-

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tional prohibition of the manufacture and experimentation of atomic and hydrogen weapons. The "Tyokansan Sanomat" printed the statement under the headings, "The problem of Disarmament is the Most Pressing Question : The People's Republic of China Must be Reinstated in the United Nations : The Results of the Bandung Conference are of Great Significance : The Principle of Peaceful Co-existence is Stressed."

The "New Times of Burma" underscored those passages in the joint statement which stress the need of banning thermo-nuclear weapons, reinstating the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and returning Taiwan to the People's Republic of China. The newspaper "Burman" carried the report on the joint statement under the banner headlines: "Russia Fully Confident of Peaceful Co-existence." "India and Russia Will Adhere to the Five Principles". The Burmese language newspaper "Htoon Daily" commented on this Report in an article captioned "From the Volga to the Ganges" which said, among other things, that the signing of the joint statement had been made possible by the ardent desire of the peoples of the Soviet Union and India's to prevent a new world war.

The Italian newspapers prominently published the joint statement. The "Unita" said that the statement by the heads of the two great countries indicated to the whole world the road of peaceful co-existence. The newspaper emphasized the great significance of co-operation between the USSR and India not only in the political but also in the economic, scientific and cultural spheres. "Avanti" and "Paese" pointed to the significance of Shri Nehru's trip to the USSR for the easing of international tension. A number of bourgeois papers tried to distort the meaning and to minimize the significance of the statement.

The Moscow radio in a talk by "Observer" in its English programme said "India and the Soviet Union have different social systems but have nevertheless a solid basis for strengthening the ties of friendship between them - this is their common interest to strengthen peace. The Soviet people deeply appreciate the part played by the Republic of India at international conferences and international organisations in connection with the maintenance of peace in Asia and in the world at large. All peace-loving people including the Soviet people also highly appreciate India's efforts to secure the People's Republic of China its rightful seat in the United Nations"

## CHAPTER TWELVE

### The Jarewell

After spending very busy 16 days Prime Minister Shri Nehru flew on June 23, from Moscow for Warsa aboard a special Soviet IL—14 airliner leaving behind the impression of a man of untiring energy, insatiable curiosity and a passionate desire for international friendship. He has made for India as many friends as there are trees in the Russians forests and the spirit of that friendship is as broad as the Siberian steppes. A man who is rarely at a loss to know as to how to express his feelings at the end of a tour, Shri Nehru

had to confess of being unable to express what he felt the reception, he has, had meant to him. It is no secret that Shri Nehru's diplomatic advisors were at some pains before he came to prepare for the "Russian reserve". In fact, informality has been the keynote of his tour and if Shri Nehru had felt any doubts whether he would be able to get close to the Russian people they could not have survived long. He leaves too with the satisfaction of knowing that his approach to world problems—what is already being called the "Bandung approach"—made a deep impression on the Soviet leaders. That is clear from the tone of Mr. Bulganin's Dynamo Stadium speech and from the phrasing of the joint declaration. The identity of views on the solution of some of the world's acutest problems, achieved in the Nehru—Bulganin talks, cannot fail to have a bearing on the course of international events this fateful year, with the Geneva "summit" talks looming up and vital decisions to be taken on disarmament, and use of atomic energy, Indo-China and the Chinese People's Republic's representation in the UN. As far as India is specifically concerned Shri Nehru is better equipped to launch India's Second Five-Year Plan as a result of promise of co-operation by the world's second industrial power and leading socialist State.

Shri Nehru's stay as is well known in the Soviet Union, became a striking demonstration of the sincere sympathy and warm friendship linking the peoples of the Soviet Union with the peoples of India striving for a democratic development of their country, for universal peace. Shri Nehru travelled some thirteen thousand kilometres in the Soviet Union visiting Stalin-grad, the Crimea, Georgia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Leningrad, Magnitogorsk and the Altai territory and meeting with statesmen and public leaders, workers and collective farmers, scientists and representatives of the world of culture and arts. Everywhere

the Soviet people gave him a cordial reception, demonstrating their love and friendship.

These sentiments were strikingly expressed in the send-off given to Shri Nehru on June 23 by the people of Moscow. All along the route from Shri Nehru's residence to the Central Airport he was warmly greeted by tens of thousands of Moscovites who, despite the early hour, lined the streets of the capital. The sentiments of love and friendship of the Soviet people for the people of India that he encountered throughout the whole of his stay in the country found a new, striking expression. The factory and office workers of Moscow, students and school children, soldiers and officers of the Soviet Army, all those who were in the streets of Moscow this morning wanted to convey their greetings and express their best wishes to the people of the Republic of India and outstanding statesman Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. A storm of applause followed the cars taking N. A. Bulganin, Shri Jawaharlal and his party to the airport. Shri Nehru waved to the people gathered in the streets.

The Central Airport was decorated with the national flags of the Republic of India and the Soviet Union. Assembled at the airport were N. A. Bulganin, L. M. Kaganovich, N. S. Khrushchev, G. M. Malenkov, A. I. Mikoyan, M. G. Pervokhin, M. Z. Saburov, Ministers of the USSR, representatives of the people of Moscow, Soviet and foreign newspapermen. At the airport there were also members of the staff of the Embassy of the Republic of India, heads of Embassies and Legations accredited in Moscow. The officer commanding the guard of honour met Shri Nehru and made his report. The orchestra played the National Anthems of the Republic of India and the Soviet Union. N. A. Bulganin and Shri Jawaharlal Nehru walked down the ranks of the guard and made an inspection of them.

## SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN

N. A. Bulganin approached the microphone and made the following speech in a tone full of feelings which were so visible. He said :—

Comrades, Mr. Prime Minister, Ladies and Gentlemen! In saying goodbye to our guest, Shri Nehru I want to express once again a profound satisfaction given by the visit to the Soviet Union of the Prime Minister of India Shri Nehru and his party. During his tour of the Soviet Union Shri Nehru has undoubtedly had the opportunity to convince himself of the warmth and sincerity of the feeling of friendship and affec-

tion that the Soviet people have for the great Indian people. Shri Nehru has also had the opportunity of making a better acquaintance of our people, their interests and aspiration, the results of their peaceful labour, their industry, agriculture and the culture. The acquaintance of the Indian Premier with the country and its people will promote the establishment of better understanding between our countries, which is a pledge of the further development of friendly relations between them.

The establishment of understanding has also been promoted to a not inconsiderable degree by personal contact and the talks that Shri Nehru has had with the leaders of Soviet Government. The outcome of these talks is the joint statement published today in the press. I am firmly convinced that this statement will serve as a solid basis for the further development, and strengthening of friendly relation between our countries. These relations can serve as a graphic example of the co-operation of two states with different social systems, an example of how the idea of peaceful co-existence should be understood and put into effect. I am happy to point out that the personal connection, established between the Government of the Soviet Union and the Prime Minister of the India is to be continued in the future. In this connection, I would like to express to Shri Nehru the heart felt gratitude of the Soviet Government and myself personally for his invitation to me to visit India. I accept this invitation with pleasure and will avail myself of it for the good of our great peoples.

In bidding you goodbye before your long trip I want to wish you, Mr. Prime Minister and your party a good voyage and a safe return to your magnificent country. I beg you, Mr. Prime Minister on behalf of the Soviet Government, the Soviet people and myself personally to convey our ardent greetings and good wishes to the great people of India.

Goodbye Mr. Prime Minister.

A happy voyage, ladies and gentlemen.

Long live Soviet-Indian friendship for the good of universal peace and security.

### SPEECH BY SHRI NEHRU :

He was followed by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru who looked visibly moved, when began to speak. He said :

"Mr. Chairman, friends ; Sixteen days ago we came to

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your country and now we are leaving. It sometimes seems that we have just arrived, and sometimes that we have spent a long long time here for in these sixteen days we have seen so much, received so many impressions, and so many pleasant encounters. It seems to me that I am leaving here richer and poorer at the same time than I arrived. I think that I am leaving richer because I shall have so many pleasant recollections of our friendship and of the reception you gave us. I am leaving here poorer because I am leaving here a part of my heart. You can hardly call this getting poorer, however. This, too, makes you a bit richer.

It is difficult for me to speak of the impressions of the sixteen-day stay in the Soviet Union. This is a long story. And it will always be remembered not only by myself but also by the peoples of India. I shall always cherish the affection and hospitality accorded to me. The most pleasant recollection for me will be the friendly meetings that showed us how much closer we have become to each other. I do not seem to have enough words to express my gratitude, to convey everything that fills my heart. You have spoken of our joint statement signed by us yesterday. It is a symbol of our relations, and an earnest of our future co-operation. It will of course, be useful to our countries and, I believe, the other countries as well as to the cause of world peace. We wish that all countries live in friendship, that there be no enmity, and we in India are striving for this. It is pleasant when these strivings are sometime crowned with success.

I wish to thank you once again. I shall take away many memories and the greatest of them will be what I saw this morning on my way to the airport. Hundreds of thousands of Moscovites greeted me. Their smiles, their happy faces and the affection that I saw in their eyes will always be with me. I beg you to convey to your people my gratitude, my message of love.

Goodbye (The words "goodbye" were said in Russian.)

Shri Nehru flew out after exchanging remarks at the airport with Marshal Bulganin, while Messrs. Khrushchev, Malenkov, Mikoyan, Kaganovich and Pevukhin stood by. Diplomats were gathered at the edge of the tarmac to be presented to him. Before stepping aboard the airliner, he inspected the guard of honour and watched a march past of goose stepping soldiers.

He took leave of the Ministers, public figures, members

of the diplomatic corps, representatives of the peoples of Moscow, and members of the Presidium of the Supreme Council present at the airport. Young Pioneers presented flowers to the Prime Minister and his party and sang in Hindi "The Rain Song."

To the strains of a march Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, his daughter Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Mr. N. R. Pillai, mounted the gangway. Shri Nehru waved to the well-wishers. At 9.38 A. M. the plane took off and set on its course to Warsaw. Shri Nehru was accompanied until the Polish capital by F. F. Molochkov, Chief of the Protocol Department of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Mr. K. P. S. Menon, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of India to the USSR.

Indian Prime Minister sent the following telegram to Soviet Premier, Marshal Bulganin: After completing my visit to the Soviet Union I would like to express to you my sincere thanks for all the attention, goodwill and hospitality shown to me by Your Excellency and your colleagues. I would also like you to know how profoundly moved I was by the spontaneous demonstration of the affection shown by the people of the Soviet Union wherever I appeared. The places which I visited and the people whom I met will always remain fresh in my memory. If my visit contributed to profounder mutual understanding of our corresponding points of view and our friendship, as well as to our resolve to work for the common good then I will feel that I have been sufficiently rewarded. I am looking forward to meeting you in India.

The group of journalists from the Republic of India, who had visited the USSR at the invitation of TASS, left Moscow for Warsaw by air on the same day. The journalists were seen off at Vnukovo airport by V. G. Seliverstov, Deputy General Manager of TASS and other senior officials of TASS and also by representatives of the Editorial Boards of Moscow newspapers.

During their stay in the USSR the Indian journalists made a tour of the country visiting Leningrad, Stalingrad, the Crimea, Tbilisi, Rustavi, Tashkent, Samarkand, Magnitogorsk and Sverdlovsk. The Indian journalists acquainted themselves with the work of industrial enterprises, state farms and collective farms, visited theatres, museums and other cultural and educational institutions, met and talked with Soviet men and women.



## CHAPTER THIRTEEN

### Poland

### also Joins

◇ Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, arrived at 11 A. M. (local time) in Warsaw on June 23 at the invitation of the Government of the Polish People's Republic. He was accompanied by his daughter Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Mr. N. R. Pillai, Mr. K. P. S. Menon, and Mr. M. A. Husain. He was also accompanied to Warsaw by F. F. Molochkov, Chief of the Protocol Department of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was met at the Central Okienecze Airport by J. Cyrankiewicz, Chairman of the Council of

Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, B. Bierut, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the United Polish Workers Party (UPWP), A. Zawadzki, Chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, Marshal of Poland K. Rokossowski, H. Minc, Z. Nowak, F. Zozwilk, F. Mazur and R. Zambrowski members of the Political Bureau of the UPWP Central Committee, S. Jedrychowski, T. Gede, P. Jaroszewicz and S. Lapot, Vice-Chairmen of the Council of Ministers, Ministers, members of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, Generals of the Polish Army, delegations of the working people of the Polish capital, representatives of the Polish and foreign Press. There were present also P. K. Ponomarenko, USSR Ambassador to Poland, heads of the Embassies and Legations of a number of countries accredited in the Polish People's Republic. The airport was decorated with the national flags of the Republic of India and the Polish People's Republic. A guard of honour was lined up and the National Anthems of the Republic of India and the Polish People's Republic were played.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and J. Cyrankiewicz exchanged speeches at the airport. Welcoming the Indian Prime Minister the Polish Premier said, "The Polish people followed with great interest the struggle of the Indian people for their freedom whose prominent leader is Premier Nehru." He said the whole world looked upon Shri Nehru as a stubborn fighter for peace who gave effect to the aspirations of the Indian people. In Warsaw, the word 'peace' had a special significance. "Long live peace. Long live the friendship between the Indian and Polish peoples," concluded Mr. Cyrankiewicz.

Replying to the speech of welcome by the Polish Premier Shri Nehru expressed his pleasure at being able to visit Poland.

Prime Minister Nehru with Mr. Jozef Cyrankiewicz, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Poland, whom he met in Warsaw.





Prime Minister Nehru arriving for the reception given in his honour by the Polish Chairmān of the Council of Ministers, Mr. Jozef Cyrankiewicz, at Warsaw during his recent visit to Poland. Shrimati Indira Gandhi is also seen in the photograph

## PILGRIMAGE FOR PEACE

Shri Nehru said he had brought "the greetings and the best wishes to you and to the Polish people from the Government and people of India."

He hoped that the "friendly co-operation between our peoples will intensify as time goes on."

Local newspapers and magazines carried special articles and photographs to mark his visit.

Six miles from the centre of Warsaw, the imposing residence of the Secretary-General of the Polish Communist Party had been vacated by its permanent occupant to accommodate Shri Nehru and his daughter. Both left this afternoon for a day's visit to Cracow.

Not far from Cracow, the Polish Government has retained as a museum, the Nazis' most notorious concentration camp in the country.

Shri Nehru called on the Polish Foreign Minister and later Mr. J. Cyrankiewicz, the Polish Prime Minister. The two Premiers had a conversation in which Mr. N. R. Pillai, Mr. K. P. S. Menon, Indian Ambassador to Poland and Mr. Azim Hussain, Joint Secretary, also took part. On the Polish side those who took part in the conversation were Mr. Hilary Mink and Mr. Nowak, Polish Deputy Premiers, Mr. M. Naszkowski, Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. E. Grudzinski, Polish Ambassador to India and Professor G. Lange. In the evening he paid a visit to the President of the Polish Republic.

Although on an inevitably smaller scale, Poland, like Russia seems to have been caught in the fever of Shri Nehru's visit. After receiving a warm welcome at Warsaw airport on his arrival from Moscow, the Indian Prime Minister was delayed by crowds by nearly half an hour for the evening banquet in his honour by the Polish Prime Minister. When Indian Press correspondents covering Nehru's tour went out separately for lunch several hundred Warsaw citizens mobbed them with the demand that they must see the Indian Prime Minister.

Festive reception was arranged to celebrate the visit to Poland of Shri Nehru by the Polish Premier in Warsaw. The function was held in the brilliantly lit marble hall of the ancient palace where the conference of the South-Eastern and Central European States was recently held. Shri Nehru drove to the reception in the office of the Polish Council of Ministers in an open car in the company of Mr. Cyrankiewicz.

and had a warm ovation from the population of Warsaw massed along the streets. At the reception Shri Nehru and Mr. Cyrankiewicz exchanged toasts. In his toast the Polish Premier said, "I am convinced that the proofs of an economic, cultural and political co-operation and our relations becoming closer will multiply. Proofs among which is not without significance, our co-operation in the commission set up at the Geneva Conference."

Shri Nehru said, "Unfortunately my visit will last only three days but ever so owing to my visit here we shall be able to get better acquainted and the relations between our people will become still better. Today when between the people's there is so much tension and distrust, friendship is a good thing. For that reason once more I thank you cordially and wish to toast the friendship and co-operation between our two countries."

### NEHRU MADE HONORARY CITIZEN :

A "Warsaw meets Nehru" meeting was held in the Polish capital. The meeting was attended by Prime Minister Nehru and his suite, President Boleslaw Bierut, his Ministers, distinguished party members as well as workers and employers of Warsaw's factories and institutes.

The Peoples Municipal Council of Warsaw passed a motion at an extraordinary session to award the Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru "an honorary citizenship" of the city. The motion was moved by the Council's Chairman Mr. Jerzy Albaech. The Diploma awarding to Shri Nehru the title of an "honorary citizen" of Warsaw was handed to him at a specially held mass gathering. The announcement, which was made by the Mayor of Warsaw was greeted with thunderous applause lasting several minutes.

### NEHRU'S SPEECH :

The Prime Minister, speaking on June 25 after the freedom of the City of Warsaw was conferred upon him said: "As I speak to you far away in San Francisco the U N. is celebrating its 10th anniversary. History is worthy of celebration. The U. N. may not have quite lived up to the hope of mankind. Nevertheless, it is something that is worthy of the efforts and hopes of mankind, and if it was not there it would be difficult for us to build up world co-operation. Let us send greetings to the U. N. and wish them well. Let us hope

that they will realise the great, noble purpose of the Charter. They will only realise those purposes if they keep the words of that Charter always in the mind, and not get away from them as they have sometimes done.

"There is another 10th anniversary which the world will certainly not celebrate, and which is coming very soon, but it is good that the world remembers that. Ten years ago almost from today, the first atomic bomb fell on Hiroshima. That is an accursed date. It is not to be celebrated, but to be remembered as an evil thing and a precursor of many evil things. For we live, whether we like it or not in this atomic age. Great powers have been given to man and the mighty question is how he will use that power—with wisdom and with tolerance, or in hatred and for purposes of destruction. This is the great question and it does not matter much ultimately whether we think that one party is right and the other wrong. If conflict occurs, the other consequences are the same. Therefore we have to approach this question of peace in a new spirit and not blame, not trying to show that the other party is in the wrong and we are in the right".

Shri Nehru thanked the Mayor of Warsaw for conferring upon him the Freedom of the City, which he considered "a great honour and privilege". There were few countries in the world with such a long record of struggle as Poland, he said. Whatever had happened, the torch of freedom had never been extinguished in the country. Warsaw represented today two opposing tendencies in human nature—destruction and construction.. We had seen here more than anywhere else the work of organised human effort to combat that evil and to construct and thus defeat the purpose of destruction. The city was the reminder of war and its evil works, as well as how one meets that challenge.

Prime Minister Nehru spent three hours driving round the city and visiting places of interest. Warsaw which was completely flattened out and suffered terrible calamities is still a city of ruins. Ten years after the war has ended one comes across the evidence of grim reminder of the disaster which the war brought on this unhappy country and debris is still being cleared. In the chequered history of Poland, a new phase has dawned. Foreigners who saw Warsaw five years ago say that progress made during the period is near miracle. Half of the city has been rebuilt. A talk with Polish leaders as well as the man in the street is sufficient to convince one that the Poles are intensely nationalistic with pride in their culture

and tradition. Warsaw's ancient market squares, buildings and streets, which are part of Polish history, have been rebuilt exactly on the same spot as the original and conforming to the same old architectural style.

A few buildings and streets survived bombing during the war. Most of the rest of the city, which did not escape destruction, is springing up out of the debris. Everywhere one comes across scaffoldings, light cranes, lifting stones and new buildings are being constructed. People are easy and relaxed and there is little to impress a foreigner of authoritarian regime sitting tight on their neck. They are cautious of their neighbours but deeply grateful to U. S. S. R. which is acclaimed as the liberator of Poland. Soviet aid would also appear to be in a big way. They have put up a new steel plant which is playing important part in the industrial rehabilitation of Poland.

On June 24 Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and his party, went to the construction site of the Stalin Palace of Culture and Science being built in Warsaw by the Soviet Union as a gift to the Polish people. They saw the sights of Warsaw, acquainted themselves with its rehabilitation and development, went to new districts of the Polish capital. The guests visited the motor-car plant in Warsaw. Mr. A. Zawadzki, chairman of the Council of state of the Polish People's Republic, gave a luncheon in his honour.

Shri Nehru drove alongside old Jewish quarters which had been totally destroyed but where multi-storeyed apartments are coming up. Likewise, workers' area, where the disastrous Warsaw uprising of August 1944 began, is also being rebuilt. The Prime Minister spent some time at the 50,000-seating capacity Sports Stadium which is nearing completion. After attending the lunch given in his honour by the President of the Council of State, Shri Nehru flew to Stalinogrod on route to Cracow.

### TOUR OF SILESIAN TOWNS :

Immediately after his arrival on a short visit to Stalinogrod (formerly named Katowice) Nehru went on a tour of Silesian town. Thousands of people who lined Nehru's route, threw flowers and shouted slogans in honour of Polish-Indian friendship. On his tour of Silesia, he was accompanied by M. Jaroszewicz, M. Naszkowski, and M. Bartol.

Hundreds of thousands of people lustily cheered Prime

Minister Nehru as he drove that afternoon through a number of industrial towns in the Upper Silesian basin, thickly populated regions and principal coal-mining area of Poland. He was received by local dignitaries, a number of Ministers in ceremonial dress—back-closed coat and plumage hat. From Stalinogrod airport, which is an hour's flight from Warsaw, crowds began to gather and it was an unending stream for two hours. He drove through Chorzow, Bytom, Zabrze and another township where a big machine tool factory is situated. The towns were decorated with flags, buntings and banners in Hindi welcoming the Indian Prime Minister. From almost every flat fluttered a Polish or Indian flag. Often crowds were dense, twenty deep. Rows and rows of children lined up and waved flags, while men and women hurled bouquets in the road. In the evening Shri Nehru visited the palace of culture for children. It is a spacious five storeyed building. He visited various departments of the centre and saw children learning ballet dancing, enjoying a puppet show, playing violin and making models. A swimming pool there was crowded with children. Children waving lanterns perched on poles gathered at the courtyard and sang. Later at night when he went to attend a reception by the Chairman of Silesian Council, a torchlight procession of miners gathered in the square and raised slogans welcoming him. Shri Nehru thanked them for the affectionate welcome given to him as well as India. On behalf of miners, Shri Nehru was presented with a miner's axe and a miniature lantern. Nehru spent Friday night in Stalinogrod and arrived in Cracow in the forenoon. Prime Minister Nehru was given a reception in Cracow which outdid film extravaganza depicting medieval splendour. Earlier in the day, 'en route' to Cracow from Stalinogrod, Shri Nehru spent two hours at Oswiecim and went round the former concentration camp where according to the War Crimes Commission, Nazis had murdered four million people. Barbed wire enclosures and barracks where internees were confined are still intact. In another part of the camp—notorious death chamber, where, it is stated, lakhs of Jews were daily gassed and cremated in the furnaces—Shri Nehru laid a wreath at the memorial tablet. The Gas Chamber itself, dynamited by the with-drawing Germans, lies in ruins. Shri Nehru was taken round the museum to the vicinity where evidences of atrocities are kept. Exhibits in the museum include women's locks in glass cases, spectacles and other personal effects of the victims. It was explained the Nazis stocked hair to be exported to Germany for industrial purposes.

## NEHRU CONQUERS RUSSIA

People of this ancient city of castles and churches occupied vantage points on balconies and churches along the route through which Shri Nehru drove with Polish Prime Minister and Mrs. Indira Gandhi in an open car. Two miles before the fleet of cars reached the gates of the city, it passed through dense crowds which raised slogans "Bravo Nehru". From the ramparts of the city gate four buglers dressed in twelfth century uniform gave a ceremonial salute. Others in gold embroidered breeches and armed with spears mounted guard at the entrance of the historic Cracow Palace, abode of former ruler of Poland. Boys and girls in their attractive native costumes presented bouquets and held an opera on an improvised stage to give a musical reception. Prime Minister Nehru had lunch in the palace.

### PUBLIC SPEECH :

Prime Minister Nehru made an impassioned appeal to the nations of the world to make every possible effort to usher in an era of peace in the present distracted world, torn by hatred, distrust and enmity. The public meeting was attended among others by the Polish President, Prime Minister, members of the Polish Cabinet and several other high dignitaries. Addressing a crowded public meeting in this war-devastated city Shri Nehru said that the present time was most propitious for making an honest and sincere effort to bring about world peace. Of late tensions in the world had relaxed to some extent and the international situation had shown signs of improvement. "Let us not therefore miss this opportunity and work for peace," he said adding that peace could not come by arguing who was right and who was wrong or by blaming each other. It could come only when there was purity of not only mind but of heart also.

"We must tackle this question of peace in a new spirit not in the light who is to be blamed but with an earnest desire to remove the present-day conflicts. I earnestly hope that all of us will endeavour in that direction and refrain from criticising each other. We have had enough arguments and it does little good to the suffering humanity. We talk of peace but act always out of fear of others. Gandhiji taught us to believe in peace and have feelings of friendliness and goodwill even towards your foes. In India during our struggle for freedom we adhered to Mahatma Gandhi's teachings and pursued a peaceful policy which enabled us to overthrow a foreign regime. We hate war and are anxious to avoid it. We are convinced fear does not solve any problems, it further aggravates them.



Shri Nehru in conversation with Mr. Marian Naszkowski, Acting Foreign Minister, Poland, whom he met in Warsaw.



Shri Nehru and Mr. Josef Cyrankiewicz, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Poland, signing the joint statement at Warsaw.

## PILGRIMAGE FOR PEACE

Its results are catastrophic."

Referring to his tour of Warsaw whose citizenship was conferred on him by its Mayor, Shri Nehru said that Warsaw was the symbol of struggle for freedom. The torch of freedom, he added could never be extinguished and the Polish people demonstrated how a beautiful city could be reconstructed after its total destruction by organised human efforts. He, therefore, considered the citizenship of Warsaw conferred on him as a great honour. The Prime Minister further referred to the 10th United Nations foundation anniversary celebration and said that the hope of the people from this world organisation had not been wholly fulfilled. Much had happened that came in the way of the implementation of high ideals of the U. N. Charter. In spite of all its imperfections and inadequacies the United Nations was however still the main hope of mankind. "Let us hope that in the second decade of the United Nations, beginning now, the high expectations in this great world organisation will find fulfilment", Shri Nehru said. Later Shri Nehru held a farewell reception which was attended by the members of the Polish Cabinet, Warsaw's diplomatic corps and high officials.

### JOINT STATEMENT :

At the conclusion of Shri Nehru's visit to Poland, a joint statement was issued by the Prime Ministers of India and Poland. The text of the statement released on June 27, is as follows :

"At the invitation of the Government of Poland, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, has paid a visit to Poland. In the course of his stay in Warsaw, he has had talks with the Prime Minister of Poland and other members of the Polish Government. These talks have shown that both Governments are inspired by a desire for peace and a determination to promote it. These talks have dealt with many matters of mutual interest to the two countries and the larger problems of international interest and concern to both.

"Among the problems discussed were those of Indo-China where both Poland and India have been associated in the International Commissions, as they were previously associated in the International Commission in Korea. The Prime Ministers welcome this co-operation of their two countries in the cause of peace and settlement of difficult problem by negotiations. The relations between India and Poland have been friendly and

there are no problems or controversies between these two countries. Recently a trade agreement was concluded between them resulting in an improvement in their trade relations. The two Prime Ministers hope that this improvement will be continued to the mutual advantage of both countries and that there will be further contacts and co-operation in the economic and cultural fields

"The two Prime Ministers fully approve of and accept and will be guided by the five principles, which have already been accepted by a number of countries for the conduct of their mutual relations. These five principles are: (1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; (2) Non-aggression; (3) Non-interference in each other's internal affairs for any reasons, either of an economic, political, or ideological character; (4) equality and mutual benefit, and (5) Peaceful co-existence.

"The Prime Ministers are especially concerned with the situation in Indo-China and the new difficulties that have arisen in the States of Indo-China in regard to the implementation of the Geneva Agreements. They are of the opinion that it is essential for the sake of peace not only in Indo-China but in the Far-East generally and the world, that the Geneva Agreements should be fully implemented by the parties concerned, and the elections held as provided for therein. In this way, the independence of those countries of South-East Asia will be assured and their relations to each other placed on a sound basis.

"Both the Prime Ministers express their gratification at the opportunity they have had of personal discussion and exchange of views on matters of mutual interest to both, and are confident that as a result of their talks relations between the two countries will be further strengthened and serve the cause of world peace "

Jawaharlal Nehru  
Prime Minister of India

Josef Cyrankiewicz  
Chairman of the Council of  
Ministers, Polish People's Republic.



## CHAPTER FOURTEEN

### In Austria

India's Prime Minister Shri Nehru landed at Voeslau airport Vienna at 9-55 a. m. on June 26 in a special Soviet two engined plane. With him were his daughter Indira Gandhi, Mr. N. R. Pillai, and Mr. K. P. S. Menon. The Soviet Ambassador to Vienna, Mr. Ivan I. Iljichov, was among the diplomats who greeted the Indian Premier on his arrival. Also at the airport were present the Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Jullius Raab, the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Adolf Schaerf, Foreign Minister Leopold Fiol and Deputy Foreign Minister, Bruno Kreisky. Shri Nehru was also greeted by his sister Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit, India's High Commissioner in London and Ambassador to Ireland, the British Ambassador, Sir Geoffrey Wallinder, and Dr. Mohan Singh Mehta, India's Minister in Austria.

Dr. Raab said he was happy to welcome to Austria the representative of a people who fought for their freedom and finally won it. He appreciated that India was striving for peace throughout the world. Shri Nehru replied first in Hindi and then in English. He said, "I thank you for the hearty welcome. I am happy to visit this famous city and this beautiful land; particularly now that it has regained its full freedom."

Before leaving for the city he inspected a guard of honour of Austrian Gendarmes. Shri Nehru stayed in the suite of rooms at the Hotel Ambassador which were occupied by the Emperor of Ethiopia during his State visit to Austria. The route from Voeslau to Vienna was crowded with Austrians waiting to see the Indian Premier. Children waved little flags of the green, white and orange, the Indian national colours and carried great bouquets, flowers arranged in these colours too. Vienna's chief shopping centre, was blocked completely by the vast crowd waiting to welcome the Premier as he arrived at his hotel.

When he left the hotel to pay an official visit to Dr. Theodor Koerner, the Austrian Premier, the Indian Premier was cheered by crowds gathered all along the route. Later he crossed the crowded square from the President's office and paid formal visits to Chancellor Raab, Vice-Chancellor Schaerf and Foreign Minister Fiol.

## STATE BANQUET

The Austrian Chancellor Julius Raab gave on June 26, a banquet in Shri Nehru's honour. The banquet took place in the famous "Congress Hall" where the Congress of Vienna which brought peace to Europe for nearly a century was held and a treaty was signed in 1815. Mr. Raab greeted the chief guest as one of the great wise men of world politics, a man, who through his fruitful ideas, fought tirelessly for peace and understanding between men. Speaking in the banquet Shri Nehru said :—

"I must apologise for speaking in English. I would have preferred to speak in German next to speaking in my own language, but I am afraid I would be less understood if I spoke in my own language. I am very grateful to you for the generous words and sentiments you have expressed towards myself and my country. I do not know whether I deserve the praise you have showered on me and I did feel somewhat embarrassed. Whatever virtues I or my colleagues possess are derived from those under whom we served, especially Mahatma Gandhi.

"Mahatma Gandhi taught us many lessons to which we are not able to live up. I do not presume to give advice to other countries. In our country we think we are the best judges as to what we should do just as in other countries the people there are the best judges as to what should be done. We live in troubled times in the shadow of war. In times of danger it is necessary for people to confer as to how to avert war. I have not come to Austria with any special purpose except to fulfill the long-felt desire to visit this famous and gracious city which is the seat of European culture in all its aspects.

"Vienna is the capital city of an empire State. What I remember about Vienna, I hope you will excuse me if I say so Mr. Chancellor, is not the holy Roman Empire but the high quality of its culture. Greatness does not come from the size of military establishment. I come from a country which is huge in size. But I am convinced that if India is to advance and if she is to play an effective role it will be due not to her size but to her quality. Austria has quality. People now-a-days think of armies as representing strength. The past experience of two world wars has shown how false this thinking is. There is a saying those who take to the sword shall perish by the sword. Great truths have been spoken by many men in many countries in ancient times. These maxims are still true in these times of the Atom Bomb. The way of violence seldom succeeds and

seldom solves any problems. The way of war never solves any problem.

"To-day when there are such terrible weapons like the Atom and Hydrogen Bombs we must think even more intensely of peace. We have to choose whether we want to make the world a garden or a desert. Therefore a country like Austria can become a country of peace, a country, which can play a role of distinction not by strength but by ideas, by a peaceful approach. After congratulating Chancellor Raab "on achieving full independence for his country" and "for having now the opportunity to realise your ideals" Shri Nehru said, "India too has ideals and we endeavour to act up to them without being frightened by anyone. Next year we shall celebrate the 2500th anniversary of the death of the greatest son India has ever produced, Gautama Buddha. He had a message. Christ gave that message too and so did Mahatma Gandhi in our time. That message was "blessed are the peacemakers". Now-a-days nations have the habit of shouting at one another, insulting one another and threatening one another but the approach of threat is met by the reaction of threat and the approach of violence is met by the reaction of violence.

"At San Francisco we are now celebrating the tenth anniversary of the United Nations. It is indeed a worthy anniversary. But there is another tenth anniversary which we will observe in a short while. It is bad if I may use the expression and an accursed anniversary. It is the anniversary of the use of the first atom bomb. Anniversaries help us to fashion our thoughts and our actions. I am afraid I have spoken too long and perhaps not in the way one should speak on occasions of this kind but my mind is full of such thoughts. I am very grateful to you, Mr. Chancellor, for the very friendly reception I have been given. Ladies and gentlemen! May I ask you to drink to the health of the President of Austria, the Chancellor, the members of the Govt. and the future prosperity of Austria."

Theodor Koerner, the Austrian President, said at the banquet that the Indian statesman was "one of the great figures of world politics". Shri Nehru was a man who was "continuously giving new impulses to world politics by his fruitful ideas and one who above all is a tireless fighter for freedom and understanding among nations.

The President declared that Shri Nehru had dedicated his labours to the well-being and security of all humanity. "We welcome him not only as the representative of a nation with

one of the oldest cultures in the world but also as a man who is inspired by the highest human ideals". He then toasted "the happiness and prosperity of the Indian people, the President and the Prime Minister of India".

Shri Nehru handed to President Koerner a message from Indian President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad saying India believed "peace was indispensable to progress".

The message from Dr. Prasad said, "We believe that peace is indispensable to the progress and prosperity of all countries and of all peoples. All over the world all men and women of good-will should make it their duty to support the generous efforts made to maintain it".

On June 27 the Indian Prime Minister, carried through a heavy programme, the second day of his state visit to Austria. In the morning after a Press conference, he visited the Vienna Municipality where he was received by the Mayor of Vienna Mr. Franz Jonas. Here he received a gift of the famous Augartan porcelain. Later, he paid an official visit to the Austrian Chancellor Mr. Julius Raab, Vice-Chancellor Adolf Schaerf, Foreign Minister Leopold Fiol and Assistant Foreign Minister Bruno Kriesky. He was accompanied by Mr. N. R. Pillai, Mr. Azim Hussain, Mr. K.P.S. Menon, and Dr. Mohan Singh Mehta.

An official communique said that during the talks questions of international importance were discussed especially regarding the position of Austria after the conclusion of the state treaty. Further, the possibility of increasing trade relations between India and Austria were discussed in detail.

The Austrian Foreign Minister, Mr. Fiol gave a lunch in honour of Shri Nehru on the Kobenzl Hill overlooking the city of Vienna. Before lunch the Indian Premier had made a tour of Vienna. In the afternoon, the Indian Minister in Vienna gave a reception in the gardens of the Auersperg Palace, which was attended by the whole diplomatic corps and the elite of Vienna society.

### MEETS NETAJI'S WIFE :

While in Vienna, the Indian Prime Minister Shri Nehru did not forget to meet Mrs. Emilie Schenkl Bose, wife of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose and her daughter Anita Bose. On June 27 he had breakfast at her house. He is understood to have renewed the Indian Government's offer of financial help to Mrs. Emilie



Prime Minister Nehru inspecting the famous treasures of the old Hapsburg dynasty during his visit to the Hofberg in Vienna.



Prime Minister shaking hands with Austrian President, Koerner whom he met on June 26.

Schenkl, for the education and upbringing of her daughter Anita Bose. Mrs. Schenkl, who declined a similar offer earlier, accepted the same now. The question of the Indian Government's financial aid to Netaji's family in Vienna was first considered and agreed upon by the Congress Working Committee during the Indore A.-I. C. C. session about four years ago, but Mrs. Schenkl was reported to have declined the offer then as she was quite self-supporting. Forty-five-year-old Mrs. Schenkl, an employee in the telephone department of the Austrian Government, then said she needed no financial assistance as she could continue her present job for another 15 years whereafter under the rules she would be entitled to pension from the Austrian Government.

Shortly after her meeting with Shri Nehru Mrs. Schenkl said she did not think Netaji was still alive. She was asked if she thought or had any authentic information to say that her husband was still alive as there had been still some confusion and controversy on this issue. She replied as tears rolled down her cheeks: "In a way I want to believe Netaji is alive but in another I do not. My heart says he should be 'alive' but my brain says he is dead. She, however, did not think that the plane crash story was correct and believed Netaji might have died later. "Who knows? May be the death was caused by even heart trouble as most of his brothers died of this ailment" she added. Asked if she had any immediate plan to visit India and settle there, she answered in the negative and explained she could not take even holidays, because of her ailing aged mother. "I may consider this at a future date and the decision must inevitably depend on future circumstances."

Crowds lining up streets of Vienna waving flags cheered Shri Nehru as he drove through the city sightseeing. He lunched with the Austrian Foreign Minister and in the evening Dr. Motan Singh Mehta, Ambassador held a reception in his honour. The same day, India's Prime Minister was presented with a large painting "Ahimsa way to Freedom" by the Orient-Occident House, Vienna. The Painting depicts Mahatma Gandhi in the midst of villagers among whom are clearly seen Indian national leaders.

### PRESS CONFERENCE :

Shri Nehru reviewed world situation on June 27. Speaking at a Press conference in the Federal Chancellery at Vienna, he replied that India's services were always available to decrease

international tension. But I do not go around offering them. To do so would be undiplomatic. We help in an unobtrusive way wherever we can. A reporter had asked him if he had offered his good offices to the Soviet Government during his recent visit to the Union and above was the reply that Shri Nehru gave.

The Austrian Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor and the Foreign Minister were present at the conference. Asked to "tell us some thing about your visit behind the 'Iron Curtain' Shri Nehru replied curtly, "I did not notice any curtain, iron or other wise." He then asked the question to be put in "a more precise way" saying that he expected to sum up his impressions of a two week's tour in a few minutes. No further question on these lines was put to him.

On the solution of the German problem "in view of the recent Soviet invitation to Chancellor Konrad Adenauer to visit Moscow" Shri Nehru said "We, in India, are not in the habit of giving advices, we are occupied with our own problem. But I admit that the German problem is one of great importance. I take it that almost everyone is agreed that Germany must be re-unified. And everything that is done with this aim in view must be done by peaceful negotiation. The Soviet invitation to Chancellor Adenauer is obviously a friendly approach to create the atmosphere for friendly talks. But the invitation in itself will not lead to a solution of the problem." Referring to the declaration issued after Shri Nehru's talks with Marshal Nikolai Bulganin the Soviet Premier, that the Geneva Agreement on the Indo-China cease-fire was in danger, a questioner asked: "What are the dangers in question?" Shri Nehru replied "India as Chairman of the international Commission (whose other members are Canada and Poland) is responsible for the work of the Commission and for the implementation of the Geneva Agreement". He paid tribute to the "spirit of co-operation in the Commission and said but difficulties have arisen in certain respects. The Geneva Agreement was based on two fundamental principles—that the three states of Indo-China (Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia) must not be aligned with any major military groupings or, in other words, must adhere to a policy of neutrality, and that there should be fair and impartial elections. Talks leading to free elections in Vietnam were fixed to start by July 20 between representatives of North and South Vietnam, but so far nothing has yet been done to set these talks in motion. If no steps are taken the whole Geneva Agreement is in danger of crashing"

Laos had "rather complicated" difficulties with two of its northern provinces. In Cambodia the interpretation put upon a recent United States military aid agreement was said by one side to clash with the Geneva truce, while the other side maintained that it was entirely in conformity with it.

Asked if the question of the eastern European states had been raised during his talks in Moscow and whether any union of neutral states in the Danube basin had been discussed, Shri Nehru answered: "No, I was not anxious to raise European questions in my talks with the Soviet leaders. Not because they are not important, but because I wanted to stay within my domain. Close understanding and co-operation does not necessarily involve binding ties or military alliances".

A West German reporter asked: "Your Excellency is all for co-existence. But does Your Excellency believe that a person can live in a state of peaceful co-existence with a neighbour of whom he knows that he beats his family, treats his servants as slaves and has aggressive intentions on those around him?"

Shri Nehru answered: "This is a leading question," at which there was some laughter and applause from the other reporters. But there is no alternative to peaceful co-existence, other than war. I am a follower of Gandhi's principle of hate the evil, not the evil doer. In a space of 20 years or so two world wars have proved that the statesmen of the world are incompetent to solve the world's problems. But war is no solution. And talk of war is no help, either, as it only leads to hate. That is my opinion."

When a journalist asked Shri Nehru if they had discussed the Near East in Moscow and if India had been asked to act as a mediator, the Indian Premier said the Near East question was not discussed in particular and India had not proposed to act as mediator.

Asked if the Moscow declaration could be applied to other countries, Shri Nehru said it was an elaboration of the principles approved unanimously at the Bandung Conference. India would be happy if those principles were applied in relations with other countries. There were no special problems between India and the Soviet Union. The Premier went on to say that it was normal for neutral countries to collaborate closely, but any attempt to form an alliance between them would be useless. It would be contrary to the principle of neutrality. I do not pretend to solve world problems but I would say that during

the last 20 years great statesmen of the world most incompetently failed to solve world problems and two wars proved it much more.

On the question of disarmament, Shri Nehru said for the first time in 10 years there was greater agreement on the question and also on economic development of under-developed countries. Obviously, if too much money was not spent on armament programme, the same could fruitfully be diverted to nation-building welfare projects and such diversion of national resources would tend to solve economic and other problems.

India has not offered mediation for any-one in any problem anywhere in the world. He also explained the scope, significance and steps so far taken in India's. Five-Year Plan and what is proposed in the Second Five-Year Plan and how the land problem has already been tackled successfully.

The Indian Prime Minister Shri Nehru and his party left Vienna for Salzburg by train last night. Pandit Nehru took with him a gift the Federal Government had given him a bronze clock similar to that given to Czar Alexander of Russia by Emperor Francis First. He arrived at Salzburg on June 28 for a two-day consultations with the Indian diplomats in Europe. The conference took place at the luxurious Schloss Hotel at Fuschi, a romantic little lakeside village set between wooded mountains about 12 miles from Salzburg itself. The hotel was entirely reserved by the Indian Government and had been surrounded by a tight security cordon of Austrian police and plain clothes men. Shri Nehru who travelled from Vienna in his special train stepped on to the platform looking fresh and cheerful. He was welcomed by a delegation representing the city and province of Salzburg. There were no speeches but four little Austrian boys and girls wearing the traditional garb of Salzburg province presented Shri Nehru with colourful posies of flowers. Then the delegation left for Fuschi in five large Mercedes cars of German manufacture.

The High Commissioner and Deputy High Commissioner for India, the Indian diplomatic representatives in the Soviet Union, France, West Germany, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, the Netherlands, Yugoslavia, Italy, Egypt, Austria, Switzerland, and the Holy See and several high officials of the Indian Foreign Office took part in the conference. A spokesman of Shri Nehru's group said the conference was "an entirely routine conference which takes place every year or at least as often as Shri Nehru comes to Europe."

## CHAPTER FIFTEEN

### Warrior honours Hero

Shri Nehru arrived in Belgrade by air on the afternoon of June 30. The reception at the airport was largely official. Thoughtful Marshal Tito, knowing his guest must be tired after the journey, did not fix any programme for the Prime Minister for the day. But Shri Nehru drove out of Belgrade to Avala to lay a wreath at the tomb of Unknown Warrior. Almost every country in Europe has its tomb of Unknown Warrior, but nowhere it is more beautifully situated than in Yugoslavia. It is perched at the summit of a conical 1700 ft. high hill, surrounded by forests where the patriots of Yugoslavia offered resistance to the Axis powers. Shri Nehru was deeply impressed and commented on the appropriateness of the site selected for the tombs.

Shri Nehru's first public engagement took place on July 1 when he was presented with the scroll of Honorary Citizen of Belgrade by the Municipal Committee, or the People's Committee, as it is called by the Yugoslavs. He is the first citizen of Asia to receive this honour. A large crowd of people gathered outside the People's Committee building and warmly applauded Shri Nehru as he arrived there to receive the honour. Two small pioneers of a Belgrade Children's Pioneer Unit formed a guard of honour in the corridors of the building through which the Indian Prime Minister passed and presented him with a bunch of flowers. A representative audience of about 500 including the Senior Vice-President of Yugoslavia and the President of the Federal Parliament, warmly applauded Shri Nehru's speech on a subject which is very dear to Yugoslav hearts, especially after the recent visit of the Soviet leaders. Both the Senior Vice-President and the President of the Federal Parliament, who sat on either side of the Indian Prime Minister, shook him warmly by the hand at the conclusion of his speech, leaving no doubt that it had been deeply appreciated.

At the meeting the President of the People's Committee, Mr. Milos Minic, welcomed Shri Nehru and said the City People's Committee had elected Premier Nehru Belgrade's Honorary Citizen thus expressing the feelings of the population for him as organiser and leader of the Indian Republic and prominent fighter for the freedom and equality of all nations.

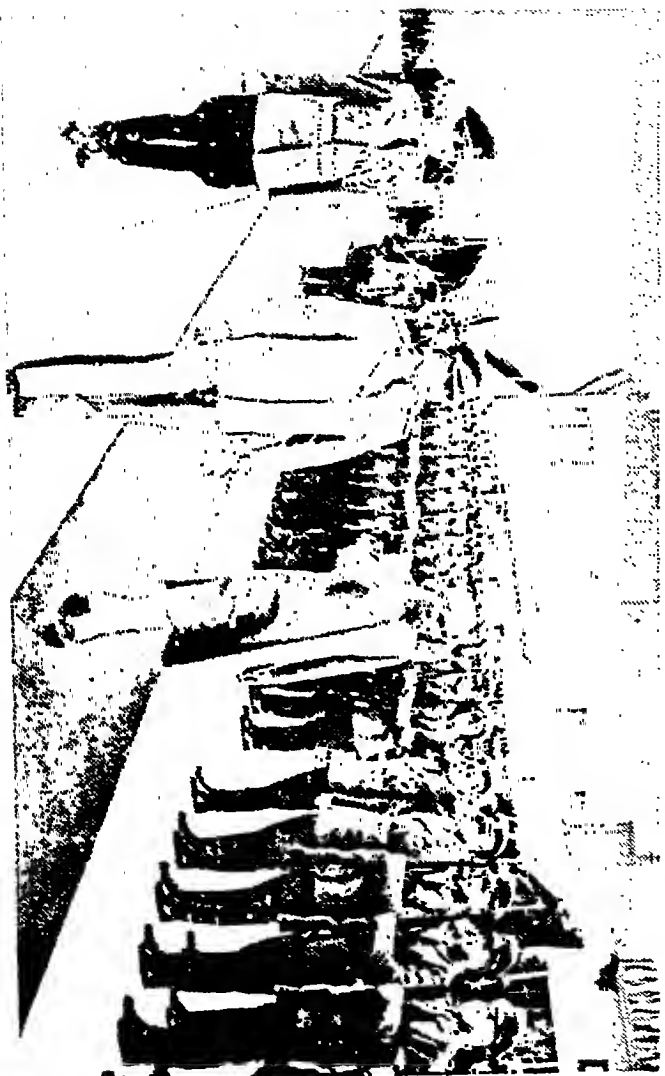
Presenting the scroll to Shri Nehru, the President of the

Municipality said : "The citizens of Belgrade feel great joy at being able to confer the freedom of the city of Belgrade upon you. We followed with the utmost sympathies your efforts towards the building up of a happier future for India and your valuable activity aimed at the realisation of active co-existence among peoples and peace in the world. We all know full well your great merits in the struggle for the aims, to which the whole of peace-loving mankind aspires".

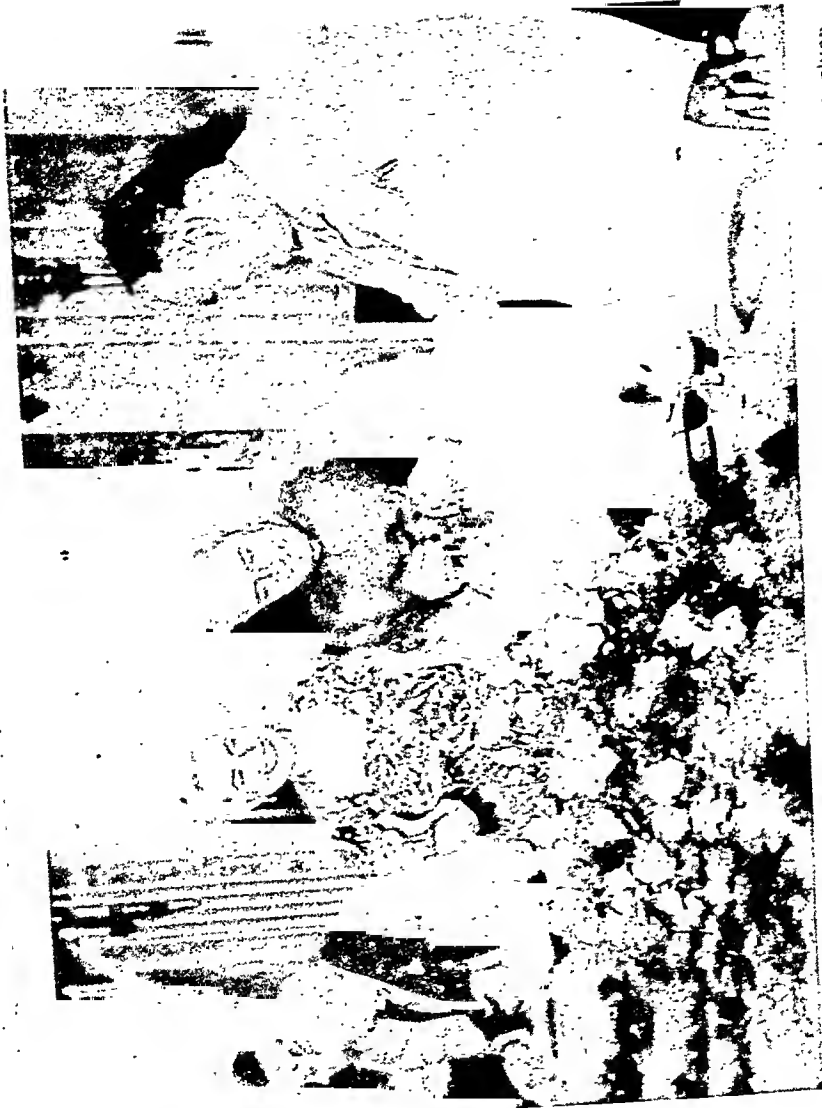
He then presented Shri Nehru with the charter inscribed on parchment bearing a gold seal. The scroll described Shri Nehru as "an illustrious fighter for the freedom and independence of all peoples in the world, one of the organisers and leaders of the great struggle of the people of India for the achievement of their independence, organiser and leader of the Indian Republic in its construction and further progress, tireless worker for world peace and sincere champion of the struggle for friendly relations and co-operation between the people of the Republic of India and the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia."

Shri Nehru who expressed thanks in Hindi for the award said, "You could not have done me a greater honour or given me more pleasure. Indians had for half a century followed the brave struggle of the Yugoslav for freedom, their trials in the last war and their difficulties since the war. Under the leadership of your great President Marshal Tito you have firmly defended your own independent policy and refused to diverge from it under pressure or from fear of consequences. We in India have striven and are striving to conduct our own independent policy and therefore we admire all the more your bravery and stubbornness. I have come as a friend to strengthen the links between India and Yugoslavia. The world wants peace and an opportunity for progress. In that respect the efforts of your country have already borne fruit. We also have attempted to serve this greatest of all causes. I am convinced that our united efforts, which are not directed against any land or people, but towards general well-being, will bear fruits".

After receiving the Honorary Citizenship of Belgrade Shri Nehru met President Tito and both were engaged in talks on world situation. The talks were held in Marshal's private suburban villa, and not in the White Palace usually reserved for meetings with foreign statesmen. In the political talks President Tito was accompanied by Vice-President Eduard Kardeij, Foreign Secretary Koca Popovic and the Yugoslav Ambassador to India,



Prime Minister Shri Nehru, accompanied by President Tito, inspecting the guard of honour at Zemun airport, Belgrade, on June 30.



Marshal Tito, President Yugoslavia toasting to Prime Minister Nehru at a luncheon given in his honour at Belgrade.

Mr. Bogdan Cranobronja. Shri Nehru had with him the Secretary-General, Shri N. R. Pillai, Mr. Azim Hussein and the Indian Ambassador in Belgrade, Shri Rajeshwar Dayal.

## SPEECHES AT LUNCH :

Speaking at a luncheon in his honour by Marshal Tito, President of the Republic of Yugoslavia, Shri Nehru said the past few months had witnessed a lessening in the tensions that afflicted the world. He did not wish to exaggerate this, for there were dangers enough still, but he thought events in the world had taken a new and a hopeful turn. For this many countries, great and small, can greatly claim credit. India's Prime Minister went on. "I venture to say that some credit also belongs to your country and other countries who have proclaimed the Five Principles and the policy of active co-existence. Above all I think that credit belongs to the people of the world who so passionately hunger for peace everywhere. This almost universal desire for peace grew stronger daily and those who ignored it did so at their peril.

"We have had enough of threats and counter-threats of armament and rearmament and of policies being tough in terms of military strength and based on fear and hatred. No responsible statesman can, in the context of today, ignore the military aspect but no wise person can think now of solving any problem by military might. That day is past on the coming of nuclear weapons which have given final burial to it." Referring to the forthcoming 4 power 'Summit' talks at Geneva he said 'in the near future Heads of some of the great nations of today are meeting together to consider problem which have given rise to tension and conflicts. I earnestly trust that their deliberations will be conducted with wisdom, forbearance and with the sole desire to establish peace in this afflicted world."

Adverting to the now well-known Five Principles, he said, "These Five Principles could not deal with all our problems, but they indicated the right approach to them, because those principles are basically right and they have progressively won adherence of ever-increasing number of countries. Indeed, no one dare say it that those principles or any one of them is wrong. But people whose minds are full of fear and suspicion cannot easily reconcile themselves to friendly approach and even suspect some danger or trickery when there is none. It is true that this world is full of dangers and fears and suspicions but the way to meet dangers is not to run away from them. The way to work for peace is not to fear peace or speak in

terms of war.

In the end Shri Nehru referred to the visit of Marshal Tito to India and his own visit to Belgrade, and said they saw how much in common they had in their thinking, in their objectives and in their approaches to world problems of today. Distance that separated them vanished in the meeting of their minds and foundations were laid for comradeship which he was convinced would endure.

The lunch was attended by nearly 100 guests which included the President of the Federal National Assembly Mosa Pijade, the Vice Presidents of the Federal Executive Council Eduard Kardeij, Aleksandar Rankovic, Svetozar Vukmanovic and Rodoljub Colakovic. During the lunch President Tito and Premier Nehru exchanged toasts, in which they expressed the wish for the further development of friendly co-operation between the two countries and strengthening of international co-operation and preservation of peace in the world.

President Tito speaking at the lunch said Yugoslavia and India were linked by many similarities in their grim history and struggle for independence. Recent world events had confirmed the correctness of the policy of active co-existence which was increasingly gaining ground throughout the world. In this regard I think I shall not go wrong if I say that a special tribute is due to our two countries which have for years advocated the same principle and to you personally, Mr. Prime Minister, the President added. It was becoming ever clearer that in this world of atomic weapons the policy of co-existence was the only way to ensure peace and human progress, President Tito said. After the luncheon Shri Nehru visited the Nuclear Research Institute. Mr. Pavicic, director of the institute, showed the laboratories to the Indian Prime Minister—physics, chemistry, radio, biology and applied mathematics as well as the nuclear generator, and a big electronic brain.

The institute was founded in 1948 and along with two other institutes at Zagreb and Ljubljana, is engaged in research on the peaceful use of atomic energy. The most prominent Yugoslav nuclear physicist Academician Pavle Savic, works in this famous institute. Other members of the institute, who are comparatively young scientists, are devoting themselves to the institute and have already gained a reputation in scientific quarters. Accompanied by Mrs. Indira Gandhi and the Yugoslav Vice-President Mr. Rodoljub Colakovic, he spent

more than an hour in inspecting the institute. Shri Nehru was then presented with some instruments produced by the institute.

From the institute, Shri Nehru made a dash for the Stadium of the People's Army where the Federation for Physical Education, "Partizen" staged special display for his pleasure. This is the largest athletic and sport organisation in the country, its aim being promotion of general physical education of all youth. The organisation carries on its activities through more than 1,000 local Sport Associations and has about 250,000 members on its rolls. Shri Nehru was much pleased to note that a large number of young girls took part in the movement. Hundreds of them, after doing their musical drill appeared before the box of Shri Nehru and gave him a rousing greeting.

Shri Nehru, accompanied by the Yugoslav Vice President Svetozar Vakmanovici Tempo, went round a steel works built since the war at Zeleznik, 10 miles outside Belgrade. The steel works which started production on January 1, 1948 were built by the voluntary labour of 16,000 youths from all parts of Yugoslavia and are partly equipped with German machinery obtained as reparations. After spending an hour at the factory he returned to Belgrade for his second series of political talks with President Tito. On his arrival at Zeleznik, he was warmly applauded by the crowd of workers gathered at the entrance. Shri Nehru was shown equipment being manufactured for a copper rolling mill in Burma. He was presented with a small steel press made by apprentices at the factory training school, and was asked to give it to a technical school in India. India's Prime Minister Shri Nehru, accompanied by President Tito visited the centre of the Yugoslav ferrous metallurgy at Zenica, in eastern Bosnia. They spent about an hour inspecting the rolling mill, the coke plant and the blast furnaces. Large crowds lined the streets which were gaily decorated with flowers and flags of both countries.

### SPEECH IN PARLIAMENT :

Shri Nehru, who is the first foreigner invited to address the members of the Yugoslav parliament, said, "The first thing to be clear about is that in the modern age war is out of the question." He was warmly received when he entered the chamber. The first speech was made by Mosa Pijade, the President of the Federal National Assembly. He

pointed out that Yugoslavia, despite thousands of miles that separated the two countries, saw in India a close neighbour and friend in view of the common endeavours that had so happily inspired the peoples and governments of two countries. "Our greetings to you," he said to Nehru "reflect the deep-seated conviction of every citizen and of the whole of this Assembly that the close relations between our two countries have a particularly effective influence in the cause of peace and understanding among nations."

Shri Nehru condemned as "absurd" the exclusion of China from the United Nations, and said that many people still refused to face "the most obvious facts" when considering world problems. The problems at the moment were East Asia, Germany and disarmament. The greatest iron curtain was the one in people's minds preventing them from looking at the world as it was. Let us at least open some windows which will bring in fresh air and light from outside and enable us to have a look at the out-side world.

He said that the Asian continent was to-day resurgent and dynamic, though many in the other continents did not fully realise this and still thought of it in an old fashioned way. The unhappy continent of Africa was in a state of deep ferment. Its peoples had suffered untold agony in past centuries and their agony continues today. Can we solve the problems of the world by ignoring the wishes of the people of Asia and Africa. It is obvious that this cannot be done, and yet attempts are continually being made to do so. India had a parliamentary system of Government. Yugoslavia's political and economic structure was somewhat different. Nevertheless, there was a great deal in common between the two countries.

A new understanding arose between India and Yugoslavia in the visit to India last winter by President Tito. Out of the seed that was then sown a flourishing tree has grown, casting its soothing shadow over a wide area. He said there were some elements of hope on the horizon of world affairs promising to dispel the dark clouds bedevilling international relations for years. But the clouds still remain and dangers surround us, and it will require all the wit and wisdom of the nations of the world to dispel them fully so that the bright sun of freedom may shine and give light and warmth to every country and every people."

Speaking in Hindi he said that for thousands of years man had engaged in the great adventure of civilisation and was today on the threshold of atomic age. It was extraordinary

that some people still thought in terms of war which would only destroy civilisation and its values built up through the ages. The first thing to be clear about is that in the modern age war is out of question. It is a relic of a barbarous past which has no meaning today for intelligent human beings. The only alternative was peaceful co-existence and the solution of problems by negotiation. I believe ardently in the freedom of my own country, in the freedom of the individual and in the democratic system of working. Each nation must, however, find its own soul without interference from outside. Yugoslavia in the resistance she had offered to brutal invasion in the last year had found her soul.

Evil had to be opposed, but not by a greater evil. Violence and hatred could not be overcome by greater violence and hatred. Nearly 2,000 years ago it was said by a very great man that those who take to the sword shall perish by the sword. In India our symbols in our long past have not been great military commander but men like the Buddha and, in our own times, Gandhi—both messengers of goodwill and peace. Peace should be peaceful and not shout or use the language of threat or condemnation. The world had infinite variety. We must, therefore, learn to be tolerant of others and not to seek to impose ourselves on them.

India has decided to build a Socialist pattern of society, bringing freedom, access to knowledge and opportunity to all. It should also 'retain the creative spirit and great values of civilisation, the belief in truth and beauty, in tolerance and gentleness.' Adding Shri Nehru said everywhere he saw bright-faced children on the threshold of the adventures of life. Were they to perish in war, or to lead a life of peace and happiness. I earnestly trust that the statesmen of the great nations who shoulder so much responsibility would give a right answer to this question, he said.

Shri Nehru dealt with the progress of science and the release of atomic energy—a mighty force which might bring untold happiness to humanity or unimaginable misery and destruction. While science has done all this and may do much more, it is extraordinary that men's thinking has not kept pace with it and men's eyes are still blind to the vision that is being unfolded. Most of us still function in old ruts and think along old grooves, which have little relation to the facts of life of today. Some even think of a possibility of war in this atomic age—war which will certainly bring ruin to all. If that is to be the ultimate fate of humanity, then surely it matters little what

ideologies are pursued, what objectives we may have, for the end will be the same and it will be common ruin.

He continued that if war and the way of violence were ruled out then the only other way was peaceful co-existence between nations and attempt to solve their problems peacefully and by negotiations. Could they do that? How could they get rid of fear, suspicion, hatred and lack of security many nations felt which led to colossal armaments? These are difficult questions, and I have no easy remedy to suggest. I have always thought of them with a certain humility of spirit and endeavoured to do our utmost service to the cause of peace, co-operation, betterment of human relations and progress of humanity. I cannot presume to advise other countries, because I know that conditions differ and national backgrounds are not the same. All I can venture is to put before you such thoughts as I have for my own country.

The speech was listened by Yugoslavia's four Vice-Presidents, heads of diplomatic missions and from the distinguished visitors gallery, by Mrs. Broz Tito with Shri Nehru's daughter, Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

Shri Nehru, a neat figure in white with a red rose in the buttonhole, read his speech paragraph by paragraph. Each was immediately read in Serbo-Croat translation by President Tito's ace interpreter, pretty, dark-haired Mrs. Kordia Kveder.

The day's function ended with a gala party which Tito held at his Palace in honour of his guest. For the first time, the entire garden, which looked like a fairy place, had been thrown open to guests. The most delightful feature of the function was the display of folk-dances which are a speciality of this country.

Shri Nehru's speech to the Parliament has made a deep impression on the deputies and the people of Yugoslavia, who heard it on their wireless sets and read about it in the leading newspapers.

These newspapers gave it space on their front pages under banner headlines. 'His speech will go down in history as an event manifesting strong friendship between the two countries.' It must remain an exceptionally rare and happy page in Yugoslavia's parliamentary history. The deputies were all the more pleased by the opportunity to hear and welcome an eminent representative not only of India but whole Asia. He stood at the rostrum, clad in white with a yellow rose in the lapel of his immaculate 'achkan'. Everyone admired him in his



Shri Nehru addressing the Yugoslav Federal Assembly during his recent visit to Yugoslavia.



Shri Nehru being shown an old translation of "Shakuntala" by Mr. Mate Jakšić, Foreign Affairs Minister during his visit to Dubrovnik museum Yugoslavia.

national costume. He had the text of his speech in front of him. As deputies cheered and shouted 'bravo' vociferously, he was obviously moved. He allowed the ovation to subside. Then, in soft, unusual words—yes, they were so unusual to the people who are accustomed to listen to European languages—in Hindi, he started speaking. Every word echoed in the silence of the marble hall. The speech was promptly translated and radioed throughout the country.

Outside the Parliament building, Shri Nehru said few words to Belgrade citizens who gathered to welcome him. Here are his words, listened to with intent by the vast concourse of people who gathered outside the Parliament building.

"Citizens of Belgrade,

During my two days stay in your city, I have been overwhelmed by the warmth of your friendship. I shall never forget it. You have made me greatly indebted to you. You have, indeed, tied me to you by strong links, which can be created only by love and warmth "



## CHAPTER SIXTEEN

Hanch-Shila

Endorsed

Shri Nehru wound up his two-day visit to Belgrade by holding a grand reception. No wine flowed at his party, but there was plenty to eat. Had Indian delicacies been served added charm would have been given to the party but, perhaps, that could not be managed. After the party, accompanied by his charming host and hostess, he drove to the railway station between a double file of guardsmen in light-blue uniforms. They saluted India's Prime Minister by raising their rifles. Although it was very late in the night, many people crowded the streets through which the car passed. They cheered him and President Tito and called for friendship between Yugoslavia and India. They left by a special train for Sarjevo. Wherever the train stopped during the night's journey, people were found waiting to have 'darshan' of the Indian Prime Minister. Shri Nehru did not see much of Sarjevo, the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the ancient historic city, where East meets West. It was in Sarjevo that the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria was murdered which led to the first world war. But Shri Nehru got enough idea of the spirit of the people, who in their picturesque costumes crowded the streets of the city to give him a rousing welcome. Indeed it was in Sarjevo that the Prime Minister received his most picturesque welcome.

From Sarjevo he went to Joblanica, where the Yugoslavs had set up a great power station which provides electricity to large areas in the country. At the entrance to the town a huge arch had been erected. Here Shri Nehru and Tito were greeted by a group of people's deputies and representatives of the Hydroelectric station. Children presented them with flowers. Shri Nehru went round the station and inspected the underground hall which houses the turbines. Afterwards he was entertained to lunch by the President of the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina, M. Djuro Pucar. Proposing the toast of India's Prime Minister, M. Pucar said that Shri Nehru had been and remained, a consistent fighter for peace in the world and for equality among nations. M. Pucar also spoke of identity of views between Yugoslavia and India on many important international problems. He presented souvenirs to the Prime Minister and his daughter.

Then followed a long trek through vales and mountains to

Dubrovnik, called the "Pearl of the Adriatic." The motor cars were stopped by the wayside when Nehru and Tito planted two pine trees on a promontory to mark Indo-Yugoslav friendship. Dubrovnik, which had donned gala costume, was reached in the evening. Shri Nehru could visit only a few of the beautiful sights during his short visit to the city, but was impressed by what he saw. From Dubrovnik by yacht they went to Split, another beautiful spot. Here too, Shri Nehru was not able to see much. But he managed to have a glimpse of the palace of Diocletian, which was built by the Roman Emperor. It was an enormous palace, having wall of 500 feet facing the sea. There was but one small sea-gateway. The Emperor wanted his palace to be both a home of beauty and a citadel. But it seemed the emperors always lived in gilded cages.

Another night's train journey brought the party to Zagreb, the capital of Croatia, and city of museums and art galleries. The train was stopped at one stage to enable the party to witness a display of fireworks which were specially arranged in honour of Shri Nehru. At Zagreb, he attended the military parade which was specially arranged in his honour. From Zagreb they went to Ljubljana, the capital of Slovenia, the northmost of the Yugoslavia republics. It was raining very heavily when the train arrived at Ljubljana, but that did not daunt the crowds from collecting at the station to welcome Shri Nehru.

From Ljubljana they went to Brioni, Tito's private island, where Shri Nehru spent the last two nights. The island is a beautiful place, covered with romantic woods. Only by permit one can visit the island, which holds no military secrets, but the Government seems anxious to maintain its secrecy so that Tito may quietly confer with his officials or entertain his visitors from foreign countries. It was at Brioni that the Tito-Nehru declaration (given at the end of the chapter) was signed: it was here that Tito received the Indian press and it was here that Nehru held his first and last press conference in Yugoslavia. Shri Nehru was quite in form when he met the pressmen. The things he said had been said before by him. But he observed that he was not of a religion in the ordinary sense. He had a pagan outlook on life, believing in the principle of live and let live.

### PRESS CONFERENCE :

Prime Minister Nehru and Marshal Tito on July 6, expressed their hope and faith and struck an optimistic note on the

"Summit level" Geneva Conference. Both agreed that the Soviet attitude was conducive to a settlement and there was a general relaxation of internal tension. The two leaders addressed separate press conferences—Shri Nehru met the International Press, while Marshal Tito received the Indian Press Party accompanying the Indian guest.

Marshal Tito, who received the Indian newsmen at his villa, said the 'Big Four' agreement to meet in Geneva was itself of "positive significance". They might come to some "unofficial agreement" on disarmament and strive to solve other problems. They will not want to go back home empty-handed and they do not want the conference to fail."

Shri Nehru, asked at his Press conference what his hopes of the Geneva Conference were, replied, "I am a hopeful person", adding he hoped, "The conference will yield results in taking some steps which will lessen tension. One should not expect from the conference solutions to big problems. That should be too much. But even small steps and trends set in motion help in creating an atmosphere which subsequently lead to a solution." Both Marshal Tito and Shri Nehru affirmed that the Soviet Union's attitude to international problems had undergone profound changes. Marshal Tito said, "It is obvious that changes have taken place in the Soviet foreign policy. The Austrian Peace Treaty, normalising relations with Yugoslavia and then proposal for disarmament—all these are not just manoeuvres but a genuine change."

Answering a question on the same subject, Shri Nehru at his Press conference said: "Marshal Tito's knowledge, experience and contacts with the Soviet leaders have been far greater than mine apart from knowing the language which was an important factor, Broadly speaking—not about individuals but about policies—I would say that our interpretation or appraisal of the Soviet Union was similar." An American correspondent asked how he explained the policy of the Communist Party of India supporting his foreign policy. The Prime Minister replied it was not a reversal of their policy for the last year or so the trend had been some visible and there had been heart-searching. Some Communists felt they should support us in respect of certain matters and denounce in regard to other matters. He could not explain their mental working except to say that they are in grave mental difficulties.

More than 100 correspondents attended the press conference, some having come from Berlin, Vienna and Paris. Shri Nehru was asked what were the factors he thought which made

improvement in international situation, and whether the present improvement could be sustained. Among the factors were the general desire of the people of the world to avoid war and have a firm peace—a desire which ultimately affected politicians as well.

"Secondly, the realisation that modern war with atomic weapons is something not to be played with and much too dangerous for any party concerned, regardless of victory or defeat. Besides, various steps taken—some in United States and some in Soviet Union have created a better atmosphere. These are the two most powerful countries concerned". Turning to Germany Shri Nehru said India naturally felt that some time or other Germany would be unified. Otherwise she would be a running sore. He hoped Germany's unification would be achieved peaceably and by a negotiated settlement. Asked if India's and Yugoslavia's views on Germany were identical, he said: "We were broadly in agreement in our approaches to this problem though he and President Tito had not discussed any blue-prints for solving the German problems.

He regretted that his coming visit to Sir Anthony Eden in Britain would be very short, but he had to be back in India to meet the Indonesian President, Dr. Soekarno who was passing through on his way to Mecca. Otherwise, he said he might have stayed a day or two longer in Britain. Asked about his talks in Moscow on Germany, he said he did not go into detailed discussions on the German problem with the Soviet leaders. However, they definitely gave the impression that they wanted a reasonable solution of the German and other problems.

Shri Nehru reiterated his plea that People's China should be admitted to the United Nations. This should be done by friendly consultations rather than to make any formal proposals. He said he had been really moved "by his welcome in Yugoslavia. Yugoslavs were a vital people engaged in building up their country, improving their standard of living and ardently desiring peace." Asked if he was bearing any message to the people whom he has not met before, Shri Nehru jokingly replied "I always bear a message of peace and goodwill even to the Pope". Questioned about his hope for the Geneva Conference, he said he was a hopeful person. "I think apart from wishful thinking the conference will yield good results in taking some steps which may be vague but nonetheless lessen tension. It would, however, be too much to expect solutions to the big problems. But even trends set in motion would help in creating an atmosphere

favourable to solutions. Shri Nehru said he hoped the conference would be as informal as possible—flexible and not rigid. A formal conference wasted always its first two days discussing and arguing about the agenda. He thought Far East, certainly Indo China and Formosa in their broad aspects, should be discussed "because after all these are some of the vital questions today." In his talks with President Tito he was happy to find that they both had a very similar approach to many questions. "Our talks were frank and intimate as between persons who are friends and understand each other."

## FINAL BANQUET :

Prime Minister Nehru emphasised close relationship that had grown up between India and Yugoslavia at a farewell dinner which Marshal and Madame Tito gave in his honour. This was the final banquet bringing to an end Nehru's seven-day stay in Yugoslavia. The Speeches made on the occasion showed that both the leaders were feeling moved and they could not hide their emotions.

Proposing a toast, Shri Nehru said : "We are attuned to understanding each other, both by our background and by our conditioning, and by immediate reality as it faces us today. All these taken together make it easy for us to understand why we agree so very often when we discuss the various complicated matters affecting the world."

Endorsing Marshal Tito's desire for greater co-operation between the two countries, Shri Nehru said : "I agree with it not merely because we felt drawn to each other, although that is important, but more so because in the objective realities of today, it seems to me inevitable that we should function together, partly because of the separate conditioning that we have received in the past, although circumstances were different. Nevertheless, it was a powerful conditioning for us in India in our own way, and very powerful conditioning for people of Yugoslavia under your leadership.

"I find often that countries and peoples who have in recent past not undergone any such process of conditioning, of concentrated experience, of trials, tribulations, and of successes too, are a little unable to understand or follow why those people who have been so conditioned, act as they do. And yet those who have been conditioned can easily understand those who also have been so conditioned." Shri Nehru further said each people and each country were conditioned by its

## PILGRIMAGE FOR PEACE

background, its experiences, its trials, distant and recent. Unfortunately, most minds were very hard and unreceptive. They only wished to impose their thoughts on others and had no windows to receive any thoughts from others.

The Prime Minister thanked Marshal Tito and the people of Yugoslavia for the welcome extended to him, his daughter and others accompanying him. "We shall be leaving all of you and this most friendly and hospitable country with deep regret," he said, "because you have managed during this week that we have been here, to tie us up in all kinds of ways—tie us up in friendship and affection. tie us up, with beauty of many parts of your country, tie us up, above all, with warm enthusiasm and affection of your people".

Marshal Tito then proposed toasts to President Rajendra Prasad, Prime Minister Nehru and the people of both countries. In a tribute to Shri Nehru, Marshal Tito said : "In him I see a courageous man who always looks reality bravely in the eye and does not fear hardship. a man who does not suffer from illusions and especially not from those that might, in such a difficult situation as to-day's, be dangerous". Emphasising the need for more ties, more exchange of opinions, Marshal Tito said they were necessary because developments in the world were unfolding very quickly. Despite a certain easing of international tension, Marshal Tito said that the situation was still dangerous and troublesome.

### JOINT STATEMENT :

The following is the text of the joint statement issued and signed at Brioni on July 6 :

The Prime Minister of the Republic of India, Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru, returning the visit of the President of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. Marshal Josip Broz Tito to India in December 1954, paid an official visit to the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. The Prime Minister of the Republic of India and the President of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia had a number of talks which gave them an opportunity for a broad exchange of views, both on the general development of the international situation and on the relations between the two countries. These talks at which associates of the President and of the Prime Minister were also present, were carried on in an atmosphere of cordiality characteristic of the increasingly close friendship between India and Yugoslavia. The talks revealed a close identity of

views on all the problems considered.

Yugoslavia and India have evolved and are putting into effect, each in its own way, identical concepts and principles in their international activities, which shows that these principles and ideas contained in the joint statement issued by the President of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and the Prime Minister of the Republic of India in December 1954, reflect general trends of development in the contemporary world. The policy of full independence pursued by both countries, imbued with the principles of peaceful and active co-existence, represents an important contribution to the growth of international co-operation and mutual understanding among an increasingly large number of countries.

The President and the Prime Minister noted that the general world situation had improved of late, despite the existence of tendencies which impede such developments and that the trend towards settling international problems by way of negotiation and international agreements had been strengthened and had resulted in some notable achievements. These trends had found expression at the conference of Asian and African countries at Bandung, in the signing of the Austrian state treaty, in the notable extension of the area of agreement on the question of disarmament and also during the Yugoslav-Soviet talks in Belgrade, and the Indian-Soviet talks in Moscow, as well as at the tenth anniversary session of the United Nations in San Francisco. It is earnestly hoped that the same spirit will prevail at the forthcoming meeting in Geneva of the representatives of the governments of France, the United Kingdom, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the United States of America.

The improvement of the international situation, the creation of an atmosphere of greater confidence and co-operation in international relations, will lead to increasing possibilities for the constructive solution of outstanding international problems and for security in the world. The question of disarmament and the prohibition of nuclear weapons with international control is of particular importance in this respect. Important results can be obtained by broad international co-operation in the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, and in this context the forthcoming conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy to be held in Geneva, has special significance. The problem of the development of under-developed countries is of far-reaching importance, both from the point of view of the interest of the under-developed countries themselves and

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of the interest of world economy and peace as a whole, and requires that practical and effective measures be taken through broad international co-operation. Any progress in the settlement of these and other pending international problems would facilitate the further improvement of the international situation. More particularly, the questions relating to Germany and Taiwan are of vital importance and their peaceful solution would open out new and far-reaching possibilities of peaceful progress and co-operation in the world.

The changing international conditions both require and make possible, a greater role of the United Nations in international affairs. If the United Nations is to be in a position to play such a role effectively, it is essential that it should achieve universality of membership by recognizing the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China to representation in the United Nations and admitting to membership all states, which are qualified in terms of the Charter. The President and the Prime Minister expressed their satisfaction at the development of political co-operation between their two countries, guided by the principles of international co-operation and of peaceful and active co-existence as set forth in their first joint statement on their mutual relations. Yugoslavia and India have drawn closer together and established bonds of warm friendship that reflect the sentiments of their people. The President and the Prime Minister expressed the desire that in the spirit of existing friendship, there should be an exchange of views from time to time between two countries on current international questions.

The President and the Prime Minister reviewed the economic relations between the two countries and came to the conclusion that commercial exchanges were not on a scale commensurate with the close relations between them. The two countries should seek to obtain more extensive knowledge of each other's economies in order to foster trade and economic co-operation. With this end in view, both parties agreed to an early exchange of economic missions to explore possibilities and propose practical measures and forms of economic co-operation. They further agreed to promote co-operation between their two countries in the scientific and technical fields. The President and the Prime Minister also agreed that the rich cultural heritage of both countries offers broad possibilities for cultural co-operation. Such co-operation is developing favourably, thereby helping the two countries to learn more about each other and to achieve closer relations. They agreed at the same time to continue to make all possible efforts for the development of various forms of cultural co-operation.

## CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

### Pilgrim's Return :

◆ The Indian Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru arrived in Rome on July 7 by plane from Yugoslavia on a 30 hour brief official visit to Italy on the last lap of his tour. A telegram of welcome to Italy from Mr. Giorgiola Pira, the Mayor of Florence greeted him on his arrival. The Mayor, welcoming the Indian leader on his arrival said: "In the name of Florence I cordially welcome you to Italian soil. May God bless and make fruitful the pacifying action you are conducting among all peoples! This action brings to mind the divine words of the Gospel which say "Blessed are the meek in spirit, for they shall inherit the earth." As the airliner bringing him dipped down over the Alban Hills the Italian Air Force guard of honour on the tarmac of Ciampolino airport snapped to attention. First to greet him as he emerged from the plane, was the Indian Ambassador to Italy, Mr. John Thivy.

Waiting to greet the Indian Prime Minister at the foot of the airline's stairway was the new Italian Prime Minister, Signor Antonio Segni—this reception by professor Segni being his first official duty since he was sworn in last night—the Foreign Minister, Signor Gaetano Martino, the Mayor of Rome, Signor Salvatore Rebecchini, and the Ambassadors or Ministers of Britain, Ceylon, Canada, South Africa and Australia. Among the group of Ambassadors was Russia's Mr. Alexander Bogomoloy. The Indian Ambassador introduced Shri Nehru to the Commonwealth Ambassadors, including the Pakistan diplomat and Italian Government leaders. Shri Nehru who wore a pink rose in his buttonhole was then presented with a bouquet of white carnations by a small girl member of the Indian colony in Rome. The Ambassador introduced him to leading members of the Indian Community and to some of the 70 Indian priests studying at religious colleges in Rome. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, his daughter received a bouquet of blue irises. Professor Segni welcoming Shri Nehru spoke of the "particular sympathy" existing between Italy and India.

After he visited his hotel, Shri Nehru was driven with an escort of Italian motor cycle police clearing the streets ahead of him to the Quirinal Palace of the President of the Italian Republic to sign the visitors' book. He then accompanied by his daughter and some members of the embassy, was driven round for a quick tour of some of the outstanding relics and



Shri Nehru being greeted by the Italian Prime Minister  
Mr. Signor Segni during his recent visit to Rome



Shri Nehru with President of the Italian Republic whom he met in Rome on July 8, during his recent visit to Italy.

monuments of ancient Rome. A private luncheon with the Indian Ambassador was then followed by a ten-minute visit to the Italian Institute for Middle and Far East Affairs.

The Indian Embassy here has emphasised that Shri Nehru's visit to Rome is mainly of a courtesy nature and there are no political problems to be discussed. It is considered a short interlude in his European travels before he moves on to London. Italian Foreign Minister Signor Martino told reporters that the Italian Government was interested to know Shri Nehru's views on the eve of the "Summit" Conference to be held at Geneva shortly, particularly because he had come to Rome from his visit to Soviet Russia and Yugoslavia.

### STATE BANQUET

At a State banquet in his honour on July 7 given by the Italian Premier, Sgr. Segni, Shri Nehru said each country of the world had to find its own way and "function according to its own genius" in the matter of international alliances. Sgr Segni welcoming India's Prime Minister in a short speech said Italy and India found themselves together in the task of maintaining cultural values and above those which were material so that the rapid technical progress the country is making, may not destroy the spiritual heritage of past generations which were so important and necessary to assure a peaceful world.

Speaking at the banquet, Shri Nehru first of all thanked the Prime Minister and the Italian Government for their welcome and hospitality and said he regretted that his stay was very brief. He then said, "We in India have decided to keep aloof from military and like alliances and to seek friendship with all countries believing as we do that peace and security can best be guaranteed in that way, and addressing the Italian Premier he added, "You have no doubt heard of the five principles which lay down a code of international conduct and behaviour. I believe firmly that if these principles were followed by all nations peace and security would be guaranteed to all of them and the fear of war will fade away. So long as this threat of war overshadows the world, there will be fear and hatred in the minds of men and out of fear and hatred nothing good can emerge. It is only through the approach of peace and friendliness and co-operation that peace and security can be maintained.

He hoped he would have further opportunities to visit "the greer ties of this ancient land where so much history has been

made in the past and which have been a home of art and culture for centuries. Your Excellency has been good enough to refer to the work we have been doing in India. Ever since we attained our independence, we have devoted ourselves to building up our country in every way and to raising the standards of our people which have been deplorably low. In this task we have attained a small measure of success already. We intend to preserve it with all our strength and energy.

"We are thus concerned most of all with the constructive building up of our nation and at the same time with developing friendly relations with other nations. Indeed, there can be little success in the building up of any nation if its activities are directed towards conflict. Because of this we have been specially concerned in common with all other countries with the maintenance of peace in the world. If this peace is broken then the energy of the world will be directed again towards destruction instead of construction and co-operation. War as we have seen and as your own country has experienced is a horrible affair but whatever it was in the past new developments in science and technology and their use for the purposes of warfare, have made war infinitely more disastrous. It is for this reason that all thinking men and women today are of the opinion that war is out of the question and should be ruled out. The lesson of the past is that wars and methods of violence do not settle problems but only add to them, apart from the misery they cause. In the context of today, that lesson has got a far greater significance."

Shri Nehru said he was in entire agreement with Mr. Segni that the cultural and spiritual heritage of past generations should be maintained and not allowed to perish because of technical progress. And yet, technical progress has also become essential both to maintain our independence and to bring happiness to our people. We have thus to combine scientific and technical progress today with the maintenance of cultural and spiritual values. India values democracy and has enshrined its principles in her constitution. We intend fully to abide by the democratic progress in our political life and to combine with them and indeed to advance the cause of democracy by bringing within its fold the economic life of the country. Democracy will then be complete bringing freedom and equal opportunities to all without vested interest or privilege coming in the way of the progress of the country or of any section of the people. Shri Nehru said he believed there were many opportunities open for co-operation between India and Italy in the cultural and economic fields. There was today a commercial agreement bet-

ween the two countries, he said, and added; "You can rest assured that we shall gladly further this co-operation to the advantage of both our countries". Shri Nehru concluded by proposing a toast to the health of the President of the Italian Republic and the Prime Minister of Italy as well as to the prosperity of the nation.

## AUDIENCE WITH THE POPE :

Shri Nehru, addressed a crowded press conference after a twenty-minute audience with the Pope in which he said he did not discuss with His Holiness any religious or other issues as such. Shri Nehru was received with the colourful ancient ceremonials of the Papal Court. The last prominent Indian to be presented to the Pontiff was the Vice-President Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, who had a private audience last November 23 at Castel Gandolfo, the Papal summer residence south of Rome. The Pope chatted with Shri Nehru in the private library of his official apartment on the second floor of the Vatican Palace. His audience with the Pope involved elaborate Protocol.

A Platoon of the Pope's Palatine Guard in nineteenth century darkblue uniforms with redplumed shakos presented ancient muskets Italian Foreign Office cars drove the Premier, his daughter, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and his suite from their hotel across Rome to the Vatican. They entered the Papal City through the arch of bells swang round the apse of St. Peters Basilica and stopped in the large courtyard of St. Damascus within the Vatican Palace. The party was conducted through many chambers to the Throne room where His Holiness receives ambassadors. Shri Nehru was conducted alone to the Pope's study and the door closed. The Pope got up from his seat, advanced a few steps and warmly shook hands with Shri Nehru. The interview lasted 20 minutes and no others were present.

After the audience, the Indian Prime Minister came out and took his daughter in. Both of them were with the Pope for five minutes. Mrs. Indira Gandhi took an ivory jewel box of Delhi workmanship and exquisitely engraved and presented it to the Pope. Later, Ambassador Mohan Sinha Mehta and other members of the party were taken in. These included two pressmen from India. The audience of pressmen with the Pope is considered a rare event in the Vatican. Shri Nehru presented them to the Pope individually. His Holiness presented each one of them a medallion. Then the Pope made a brief speech in English and blessed India. A journalist

pulled out his note-book to take down what the Pope said but was cautioned by a Cardinal present that it would not be in order. The text of his speech was, however, made available later.

The Pope then came to the Throne room where he posed for photograph with Shri Nehru, the Ambassador and officials. The Pope who was recently ill, had recovered and appeared cheerful and in good health—a tall and imposing personality with a kindly look. His apartment was furnished in simple style. The Pope then read the following message to Shri Nehru :

"We are happy to welcome heartily a great statesman and an eminent Prime Minister, whom we have now had the pleasure of meeting for the first time and greet also prominent personages of India accompanying His Excellency.

"We feel sure that you are all fully mindful of the lofty responsibilities that in striving to establish a true peace based on love and justice among the peoples of the world devolve upon those in authority and also upon those who have obligations to report to millions of their fellow countrymen current events in all fairness and objectivity.

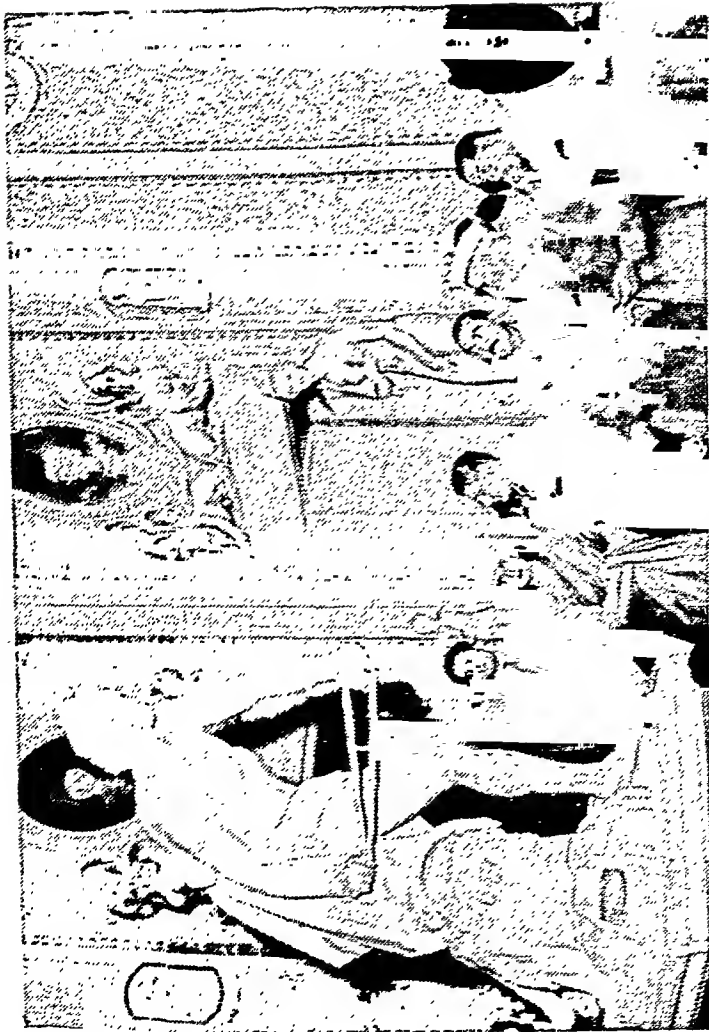
"We extend our cordial good wishes for every success in your work and in the effective realisation of your high ideals.

"As we recall that one of the distinguished sons of India has been elevated by us to the honour of cardinalate we would avail of the opportunity to address, through you, a message of affectionate regard not only to your dear ones but to the President and the Government and to all noble people of India whose welfare and happiness are ever in our remembrance in prayer to Almighty God."

Afterwards he called on Monsignor Domenico Tordini, the Pope's Pro-Secretary of State and visited the Vatican Museum. Monsignor Baniamino Nordone, Secretary of the Vatican's ceremonial congregation, welcomed Shri Nehru and his suite. Monsignors in flowing black robes with purple sashes, and secret chamberlains in the black doublets, white ruffs and black silk hose escorted the visitors to the official apartment. The procession was flanked by Papal throne-bearers, red Jerkins and Swiss Guards in red and yellow carrying seven foot halberds. Later he visited Cistine Chapel where election of Pope is held. Shri Nehru was ushered into the library while his daughter and suite chatted with courtiers in the ante-chamber. He



Shri Nehru addressing the staff of the Indian Embassy and Members of Indian Community in Rome.



During his visit to Italy, Shri Nehru visited the Famous Art Gallery in Rome on July 7.  
With Mrs. Indira Gandhi he is seen inspecting statue of David by Bernini.

spent an hour visiting the museum, library and the gigantic St. Peters Cathedral. At the museum he was shown exhibits which included letters from King Henry the Eighth and Martin Luther to the former Popes. Monsignor Nardone later paid a courtesy call on Shri Nehru at the latter's hotel.

### PRESS CONFERENCE :

Addressing a press conference, the Prime Minister Nehru said that His Holiness the Pope agreed with him that the Goa issue is entirely a political issue. Questioned about the attitude of India to Catholics on Goa Shri Nehru replied, "India gives full freedom to all religions. Religious difficulties do not arise." He said there were seven or eight million Catholics in India while the number of Catholics in Goa was about two hundred thousand. In India Catholics and others get on very well together.

He added : "But my difficulties with the Portuguese are that they want to bring in the religious question all the time. They have an untenable political position and for that matter religious position too and they drag in the religious point just to confuse people's minds". Asked how India planned to tackle the problem on a political basis, Shri Nehru said, "You don't expect me to give you a detailed account of the Government of India's future policy. But one thing you can be absolutely sure about is that Goa will be Indian".

Asked for his view on the possibility of world peace in the light of recent talks with Soviet leaders, Shri Nehru said : "Allowing for my tendency to wishful thinking I definitely came away with the impression that there was more hope for peace and peaceful settlement than ever before". Answering another question he said : "Any assumption that present Soviet policy comes from internal weakness is totally wrong."

The Indian Prime Minister said that co-existence by itself, was not enough but must be active and peaceful. There is no question that the world today cannot do without co-existence. I defy anyone to challenge this step. Any man who says that co-existence is not necessary lives on the moon, not on the earth " Shri Nehru said that in his travels in Russia and other countries "I definitely felt a very strong desire for peace wherever I went " Asked whether he thought that the policies of the Communist Chinese Government were better for peaceful co-existence than those of General Chiang Kai shek, Shri Nehru said : "That is a very interesting question. Mr. Chiang Kai-

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shek's policy has not the remotest connection with peace in any part of the world".

Explaining the position of India in the world today, Shri Nehru said: "I represented a revolutionary movement in India which has fought for generations to achieve our independence economically, politically and in every other way. Our strength has been that we have been able to rely on our own people, because we have them behind us. I am not afraid of the problems that face us, either external or internal. Now our biggest problem is to raise our standard of living. We do not want to get entangled in external problems—we are too busy"

Shri Nehru then said: that so far as anyone represents the new urges and movements that have appeared so strongly in Asia he represents something important. If not, he is nothing. Asked his opinion of the prospects of the forthcoming Big-four Geneva Conference, Shri Nehru said he believed it could produce "hopeful results". The Geneva Conference might be one of a series of conferences though not necessarily of Heads of Governments. It might be followed by others at various levels, with Heads of Governments meeting again later. He cited the Bandung Conference as a significant example of how countries with different outlooks could come together.

Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru who left Rome by air for London on July 8 said in a farewell speech that Italy and India would co-operate closely to attain world peace. He discussed outstanding current questions with Italy's leaders during his two-day visit there. Shri Nehru reaffirmed his belief that the world situation was gradually improving and thanked his hosts for the 'cordial' welcome extended to him during his visit. Italy's new Premier Antonio Segni said Italy admired Nehru's efforts to 'bring about a lasting peace in the world,' adding that Italy and India alike were following a policy aimed at economic, social and moral betterment of the entire world. He also lauded India's 'rapid progress' towards these mutual aims.



## CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

### Last Lap of Tour

There was none of the official formalities, no wasting of time in observing diplomatic conventions at the London airport on July 8 when Shri Nehru and Sm. Indira stepped out of the BEA Viscount which landed with the Indian Flag and the Union Jack flying side by side from its nose precisely at 7-35 P. M. Sir Anthony Eden made way for Sm. Vijaya Lakshmi to greet her brother who was finest in form, lighthearted, cheerful and youthful as ever. She affectionately embraced and kissed him and then Sir Anthony Eden had a hearty shakehand. It was a very warm welcome, made all the more charming by its simplicity, being in the nature of a friendly family welcome, which Shri Nehru must have found a change from the long luxurious receptions he had been having in other countries so far. Here no red carpets were spread out; no banners were waved; no banquets were held during Shri Nehru's visit to this country. That was not because Shri Nehru was not welcome—he had come on the invitation of Sir Anthony Eden—but because the occasion did not call for festivity. He had come to see a friend and colleague and a meeting between friends is definitely not an occasion for formal ceremonials. Shri Nehru wearing a white Gandhi cap and brown achkan was smiling gaily when he descended steps of the turbo-propeller Viscount aircraft which had been specially chartered for his journey to London by the British Government. Also present at the airport to receive Shri Nehru was his niece, Mrs. Sahgal, daughter of Mrs. Pandit. It may be remembered that the British Prime Minister had requested Shri Nehru to visit England when he was touring Russia.

Without wasting time the two Premiers followed by a large crowd hurried to the waiting car. As the pressmen felt disappointed at the absence of any statement from Shri Nehru, the British Premier requested him to say a few words. He made his brief speech into a microphone out of hearing of many of the reporters, but obligingly repeated it when they had been unable to hear it. Shri Nehru said, "This is my last lap of the past five weeks' travelling in Asia and Europe. I am very glad indeed that this London should be my last lap. I always like to be here. I am happy to meet your Prime Minister Sir Anthony Eden and so many other friends".

If Sm. Vijaya Lakshmi and Sir Anthony Eden had the first word with the Indian Premier the last word was said to him by

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Shri Krishna Menon who was waiting near Shri Nehru's car. He handed him a sealed envelope supposed to be one from the American President and chatted with him for a few minutes. Accompanied by Sir Anthony Eden Shri Nehru then drove to Chequers. Hardly had they got in the car the two Premiers started talking in earnest. They were so engrossed in talk that they did not notice the large crowd waving them greetings. Sm. Vijaya Lakshmi and Mrs. Indira followed by another car but before doing so both had a chat with the Earl of Home.

A Yugoslav journalist wanted a message from Shri Nehru for his paper. Shri Nehru replied, "I have said so much to so many people in your country that I can hardly say anything useful. But remember I was very happy to have been in your country. I am grateful for the munificent hospitality." Some one wanted Shri Nehru to comment on the international situation. He swiftly turned round to Sir Anthony Eden and gave a smile suggesting he had nothing to add to what he had said in Rome before stepping in the BEA Viscount to reach London.

### CRUCIAL TALKS :

The Prime Ministers of Britain and India completed on July 9, their weekend private talks on the impending Summit Conference at Geneva and the Far East situation. Shri Nehru who was accompanied by his chief foreign policy adviser Shri V. K. Krishna Menon, set out his views to Sir Anthony Eden at Chequers, the Prime Minister's country residence. Sir Anthony Eden assisted by his Foreign Secretary, was understood to have given the Indian statesmen a broad picture of the British aims at the Geneva meeting. This included his ideas on how agreement with the Soviet leaders might be obtained to guarantee security in Europe. Shri Menon, who has recently talked to Government leaders in Peking and Washington, was believed to have told the British Ministers how he sees the chances of reducing Sino-American friction in the Formosa area.

Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, Britain's Commissioner General in South-East Asia and High Commissioner designate to India was present at these talks. The Earl of Home, British Commonwealth Relations Secretary and Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit Indian High Commissioner in London, also took part in the discussions.

Diplomatic quarters here assumed that Shri Nehru repeated

to British Ministers his strong conviction that the West would be wrong to believe that Russia's recent conciliatory line stems from necessity imposed by internal weakness. This view is not wholly shared by Government quarters here, who, though recognising Russia's great military strength, believe that the economy of the Communist powers is severely strained. It is thought that a similar view is held in Washington. The British and Indian Ministers were believed to have had a lengthy discussion on the situation in Indo-China and the programme for reuniting Vietnam through a general election next year. Vietnam, biggest of the three Indo-China states, is temporarily partitioned at the 17th parallel by the armistice agreement signed in Geneva last year.

Sir Anthony Eden gave a luncheon at Chequers in honour of Shri Nehru. The guests included two old friends of Shri Nehru, the Labour former Premier, Mr. Clement Attlee, who heads the opposition in the House of Commons and his wife who drove over from Cherry Tree Cottage.

Shri Nehru later drove from Chequers to Windsor Castle to take tea with Queen Elizabeth. On his way he called on the Indian Education Minister, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad who was staying at the Savoy on a four-week's visit to London. Shri Nehru was about 20 minutes with Maulana Azad and is believed to have given the Indian Education Minister the impression his Russian tour had given him. Shri Nehru was accompanied by his daughter Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit in his visit to Maulana Azad.

The following official communique was issued from Chequers at the end of the talks between Prime Minister Shri Nehru and Sir Anthony Eden : "Yesterday evening informal talks took place at Chequers between the Prime Minister of England and the Prime Minister of India. In the morning they were joined by Mrs. Pandit, Mr. Krishna Menon, Mr. N.R. Pillai (Secretary-General of the Indian External Affairs Department), the Foreign Secretary, the Commonwealth Secretary and Mr. Malcolm Mac Donald. The discussions covered a wide field of topics of common interest including the situation in the Far East and the impending four-power conference at Geneva. The two Prime Ministers and their colleagues were particularly glad of the opportunity of meeting at the time", the communique concluded.

The English summer smiled on Shri Nehru and must have added to the delights of Broadlands in Hampshire, the home of Lord and Lady Mountbatten, with whom he stayed for a night. Shri Nehru returned to London, from Hampshire

by naval helicopter, and Sir Anthony drove over to London airport from Chequers to wish well on his flight to Cairo.

## 10—MINUTE PRESS CONFERENCE :

At the ten-minute press conference he held at the London airport before leaving for Cairo, Shri Nehru was forthright as usual. He said : "It seems to me that not only in Europe but perhaps in the world we have reached a psychological moment of history—a turning point if you like ; that is to say, a turning away from the tense atmosphere of the so-called cold war towards peace. I do not suppose that real peace and the like will arise suddenly, but it is a turning point and there is a very strong feeling among peoples of all countries in favour of it." With a smile he added : "I believe even politicians are being affected by it". Asked for his views on the Geneva Conference, Shri Nehru said that one should not expect it suddenly to arrive at blue-prints for peace, but one could probably expect certain steps in the direction of settlements of disputes by peaceful means. He thought that the attitude in Europe and America was definitely more favourable towards taking such steps. He was convinced that there was a desire on the part of the Russian leaders to work for the lessening of world tension and to devote their energies and resources towards civil development. He did not see any signs of a food crisis in Russia ; he had not had an opportunity to visit any of the agricultural areas, "but it seemed to me that they were all very well fed". Indo-China happenings may have caused the two Prime Ministers some concern ; the south Vietnam Prime Minister, M. Diem, has still given no indication of whether he intends to begin discussing election plans with north Vietnam before July 20 ; this may soon prove embarrassing to the west, for the communists may accuse them of conniving at breaking the Geneva Agreement. To all this was now added the recent outbreaks in Laos. But Shri Nehru was not inclined to be unduly pessimistic. He said that too much importance should not be attached to the incidents in Laos, where he thought the commission was functioning well.

When Shri Nehru returned to the Royal Lounge (from where he was departing) after speaking to the press Sir Anthony Eden was waiting for him and greeted him warmly. The two Prime Ministers retired to a corner of the lounge and were in conversation for some ten minutes. He then shook hands with diplomats and others present. Sir Anthony escorted the Indian Prime Minister to the airliner drawn up on the tarmac fifty

yards away and stood waving to him as the aircraft taxied away. Shri Nehru's daughter, Mrs. Indira Gandhi who had toured Russia and other countries with Shri Nehru, did not accompany her father on his flight to India. She left a few days later. Mrs. Gandhi was present at the airport to see her father off. Shri Nehru bade an affectionate farewell to her and to his sister Mrs. Pandit.

Prime Minister Nehru took off for India via Cairo from London airport at 19-50 hours GMT on July 10. He was seen off by Sir Anthony Eden, the British Prime Minister and members of the diplomatic corps. Britain's Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations Earl Home was also present at the airport to see Shri Nehru off and also India's High Commissioner in Britain, Mrs. Pandit and Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon as well as many members of London's diplomatic corps. Sir Winston Churchill sent a telegram to Shri Nehru wishing him bon voyage which was handed over to the Indian Prime Minister at the airport. The telegram read. "Wishing you bon voyage" Winston Churchill".

## IN GERMANY

Addressing a news conference at Dusseldorf, where Shri Nehru stopped for an hour on his London-Cairo flight, he said he had very good impressions of the Soviet Premier Marshal Nikolai Bulganin, and his colleagues during his recent visit to the Soviet Union.

"I think their desire for peace is not only earnest and sincere, but I think it also results from a very obvious understanding of the meaning of nuclear war. I do not think that any reasonable man with a whit of commonsense can contemplate the results of nuclear warfare today".

There were rousing scenes of welcome on the tarmac where he was greeted by the Indian Ambassador, Mr. A. G. Nambiar, the Premier of North Rhine Westphalia, Herr Kari Arnold and the Federal Government Chief, Mr. Earnst Mohr. As he walked through the hall to his press conference, a crowd of 300 people gathered there gave him a hearty cheer and clapped. Indian students among the crowd asked him to pose for them for a snapshot, which he did.

Shri Nehru's press conference was recorded for transmission on the German radio. Asked if he thought the prospects for the Geneva "Summit" conference were good, he said: "My general impression is that we are at a turning point in world affairs and

not only are people everywhere and in all countries looking ardently for peace, but even politicians have begun to think, and in some cases even to act in that direction. Asked about his conversations in the Soviet Union, especially with reference to Germany, Shri Nehru said he did not go to the Soviet Union to negotiate, but he did discuss many problems with the Russians to their mutual advantage. Among these were European and German questions.

Shri Nehru did not feel competent to discuss the German question in detail, but he said there seemed to be general agreement in the Soviet Union about the need for unifying Germany. He said he thought there was a widespread desire for disarmament and that the powers were closer to agreement on this subject than ever before. There were still gaps, however, he added. The problem was to remove fear—the fear of the Soviet Union of being encircled by bases, the fear of Eastern countries of a rearmed Germany—and so promote a feeling of security. Indian and German flags flew from the top of the airport building in honour of the Indian Prime Minister. Shri Nehru also had a brief meal with Mr. Nambiar, Herr Arnold and Dr. Mohr and then addressed a few words in private to a group of Indian students who are studying engineering at the steel works in the Ruhr.



## CHAPTER NINETEEN

### As Cairo's Great Guest

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister, reached Cairo by air from London on July 11. Egypt welcomed the Indian Premier as a 'leader of peace' and "Great Guest" with band music and triumphal arches. At 7-30 A.M. Shri Nehru stepped out of his aircraft which flew him Cairo from London. He was greeted on the tarmac by Egyptian Premier Nasser, Members of the Revolution Command Council, Cabinet Ministers, Indian Ambassador Javar Aly Jung and the Eastern Diplomatic Corps. A Military Band struck the Indian National Anthem as Shri Nehru arrived. The Indian Prime Minister together with Colonel Nasser inspected an Egyptian army guard of honour. Shri Nehru, wearing an achkan with a red rose in his buttonhole, then accompanied by Colonel Nasser drove from the airport across the Heliopolis Desert to ex-King Farouk's stately Kubba Palace where he stayed as a guest of the Egyptian Government during his 24-hour visit to Cairo. The influential "Al Aharm" wrote, Shri Nehru emphasised that he has not the slightest doubt that all countries he visited, have shown a sincere desire that peace should reign over this wretched tortured, ever-menaced world". The mass circulated "Al Akhbar" said, "The essential thing is that the world should rid itself of war mentality so a peace mentality could reign supreme. This newspaper added "people have begun to believe in and to rally round peace. All that remains now is that leaders and heads of governments and rulers should realise this fact and follow suit." The semi-official "Al Gombouria", said "Now Egypt and India have won their independence they could do no better than devote their mutual efforts to defend and maintain peace, combat imperialism and facts which threaten world stability and peace".

Shri Nehru declared on arrival there that everyone, including the Russians, was looking forward to the "Big Four" Summit talks next week. "Every where I found an over whelming desire for peace and lessening of tension towards the peaceful settlement of outstanding problems," he added and said : "I think leaders in Russia, the U. K. and everywhere else share the people's desire for peace. But they are cautious because of the difficulties they face. He thought this was due to the "psychological effect" resulting from the recent "cold war."

Shri Nehru listed world problems today as China, Formosa, Indo-China. "These questions have to be tackled step by step, and not suddenly by direct methods", he said, adding, "There is a mood today for informal talks which would help solve these problems". He said the Summit talks might produce a new atmosphere of international affairs. "We must not expect miracles, but after years of the 'cold war' we are now moving towards greater co-operation and lessening tension." The Indian Prime Minister suggested that "the informal approach" might be best to remove doubt and suspicion. He told the reporters that in the last five months steps have been taken by Soviet Russia, the U. K. the U. S. A. and Yugoslavia which, to some extent, helped to lessen international tension.

The Indian Prime Minister said he was glad the last stage of his five-week tour had brought him to Cairo. "I am meeting Premier Nasser to give him impressions of what I saw and observed. I feel it very important. We should maintain frequent exchanges of views". Asked what he thought of Pakistan's proposed entry into the Turkish-Iraqi Pact, Shri Nehru said: "All pacts do not help towards peaceful settlements—they create only suspicion". Asked if he thought a "strong neutral bloc" would help, Shri Nehru said quickly: "Obviously, the word 'strong' here does not have any military sense. It must reflect people's sentiment the world over. But, I feel today, both Governments and people have great hopes and ideas of peace." Several thousand Egyptian trade union workers, carrying banners welcoming Shri Nehru, converged from outlying industrial areas on to the Prime Minister's office, where Shri Nehru had talks with Col. Nasser.

## JOINT STATEMENT

Prime Minister Shri Nehru left Cairo by Air for Bombay on July 11 Morning. He was seen off at the airport by Egyptian Prime Minister Col. Nasser, Cabinet Ministers and members of the diplomatic corps. Shri Nehru has completed a tour that has taken him to Moscow, Warsaw, Belgrade, Vienna, Rome, London and Cairo. He has conferred during the weekend with Sir Anthony Eden the British Minister discussed world affairs with Col Nasser until midnight last night. The talks, which started in the morning, were resumed in the afternoon in the ornate Kubba Palace where Shri Nehru stopped overnight. The two Prime Ministers then attended a dinner at El Tahra Palace after which they drafted the wording of their joint communique. It was attended by Cabinet Ministers, senior and

Foreign Ministry officials.

A joint statement signed by Shri Nehru and Col. Nasser was released simultaneously in Delhi and Cairo.

The following is the text of the statement:—

"The Prime Ministers of Egypt and India have had occasion to meet previously in Cairo, New Delhi and Bandung. At these meetings, talks have taken place between them covering a wide range of matters of mutual interest to the two countries, as well as larger problems of international interest and concern. In particular they have been interested in the preservation of peace and in the extension of freedom to such areas as are still dependent or under colonial rule. Both countries have had as their objective the raising of the standard of living of their peoples and the attainment of social and economic justice. At the conclusion of these talks in February 1955, in Cairo, a joint statement was issued which indicated the existence of an identity of views on major international issues.

"Subsequently, in April 55, both the Prime Ministers participated with others at the Asian-African Conference at Bandung, at which unanimous resolutions were passed by all the participating countries. In particular, a declaration on world peace and co-operation was passed at the Conference. This declaration, in the opinion of the Prime Ministers, is of great importance and should govern international relations.

"The Prime Ministers have now had another occasion, during the visit of the Prime Minister of India to Cairo, on July 11 and 12, to have further conversations, reviewing the events of the past three months since the Bandung Conference. These talks were held in an atmosphere of frankness and cordiality, characteristic of the close and friendly relations existing between them and their governments and peoples. International developments, the situation in the Middle East and other matters of mutual interest to the two countries were discussed and there was general agreement in their approach to these problems.

"The Prime Ministers would like to reiterate their conviction on the urgent necessity of furthering the cause of world peace and of reducing tensions that exist in various parts of the world. For this purpose, it is their conviction that involvement in military pacts or alignments with great powers does not serve the cause of peace, and indeed, often has the opposite effect. The cause of peace can be further strengthened only by peaceful methods and not by any step which causes apprehension to any other country. The fears and suspicions which unhappily exist

in the world today can only be removed by friendly approaches and by creating a sense of security. In this connection, general disarmament and the banning of the production and use of nuclear weapons is of basic importance.

"The Prime Ministers have noted with satisfaction that there has been some improvement in the international situation in recent months and several steps have been taken which have helped to lessen tensions. Nevertheless, grave problems still remain and the situation in some parts of the world is full of danger. This requires constant vigilance on the part of all countries and an attempt to avoid recrimination and any step likely to interfere with the climate of peace which is sought to be created. The recent statement by certain eminent scientists on the annihilating affects of the use of nuclear weapons serves to remind the world of the dangers of modern warfare. The great progress which modern technology has made and, in particular, the advances of physics and the possibility of using nuclear energy have opened out entirely new perspectives for the human race. On the one hand, there are unlimited possibilities of development and well-being for all the peoples of the world and, more particularly, those living in underdeveloped areas. On the other hand, these new developments threaten the very existence of the human race. Humanity has to make a vital choice as to how this great power with which it has been entrusted will be utilised. A great responsibility thus rests on those holding responsible positions in the world and more particularly, on the great powers.

"The Prime Ministers earnestly hope that the forthcoming meeting of the heads of Governments of the four great powers at Geneva will result in averting these great dangers and laying the foundations of world peace and security. They further trust that the coming conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy will advance the objects for which it has been convened and will devote particular attention to the needs in this respect of vast areas of Africa and Asia. The Prime Ministers attach great value to maintaining close contacts and having consultations on important matters of international interest as well as of concern to the two countries. They will endeavour to maintain these contacts and have consultations whenever possible. They look forward to these further opportunities of fruitful exchanges of views."



## CHAPTER TWENTY

### Hero's Return :

India's Prime Minister and people's beloved leader and 'hero of hundred battles,' Shri Jawaharlal Nehru flew into Bombay at 9-40 on July 12 after his epoch-making five-week tour of Soviet Russia and Eastern Europe. As the Air-India International's Super Constellation "Rani of Ind" streaked out of the clouds with full landing lights, a gathering of 5,000, which managed to get near the tarmac, broke into cheers. Shouts of 'welcome home' and 'Jawaharlal Nehru ki Jai'

rent the air as the plane carrying the Prime Minister taxied into the apron in clear weather. The "leader of peace" as the Egyptian people described Shri Nehru, came out of the plane looking fit and smiling after journeying 25,000 miles distance round the earth.

Wearing a white achkan and churidar, Shri Nehru greeted those present at the airport to receive him, with a broad smile and folded hands. He appeared quite fit after the strenuous tour. Conspicuously absent in his out-fit was the famous baton which the Prime Minister used to carry. Mr. N. R. Pillai, Secretary-General, External Affairs Ministry, and his private secretary accompanied the Prime Minister. As the cheering crowd was making repeated attempts to get near the Prime Minister, he brushed aside the introduction formalities and made his way to the crowd and waved to them. Ignoring the elaborate security arrangements, Shri Nehru mingled freely with the people in the floodlit airport waiting-room. The Prime Minister was then conducted by the mayor to one of the hangars, which had been converted into a little garden with hundreds of potted flower plants. Green, white and orange the national colours, dominated the scene. The Prime Minister was received by the Governor of Bombay, Dr. Harekrushna Mahtab, the Chief Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai and the Mayor, Mr. N. C. Pupala. He then posed for a host of cameramen and subsequently the waiting Ministers, the Sheriff of Bombay and other top officials, were introduced to the Prime Minister.

### CIVIC RECEPTION: —

The Bombay Municipality broke its age-old tradition and took the reception to the airport to greet the triumphal homecoming of the "Messiah of Peace". Speaking in Hindi at the reception a few minutes after he arrived, the Prime Minister said

wherever he went he saw a desire for peace and easing of international tension. The Mayor of Bombay, Mr. N. C. Pupala, welcomed the Prime Minister to this "Gateway of India" as a "man who enhanced the prestige of India among the nations of the world". He said "You sought to imprint on vexing world problems an essentially Indian approach," and continued in the same vein and said :—

"India's contribution to world peace under your able leadership has been indeed momentous. The Pancha Shila has now received wide support and approbation. The adherence to these principles by many countries is a tribute to your wise and persuasive statesmanship. But beyond all this you have made an epochal contribution to the lessening of international tension."

Mr. Pupala described the Prime Minister as an "outstanding statesman of our age" and said he had won the recognition of the world as a peace-maker. The whole of India, he said, had watched with a "deep sense of pride" the acclaim that Shri Nehru won wherever his mission took him. Mr. Pupala said the Prime Minister's mission abroad was a "mission of peace, of greater understanding, and friendlier co-operation among the peoples of the world." The spirit of conciliation, of non-violence and of trust in the innate goodness of man have carried our country to new heights of achievement in international affairs. The unprecedented success of your recent endeavour abroad strengthens belief in the intrinsic rightness of the course the country set before itself. It is also testimony to the greatness of your personality for, always a good cause needs a worthy interpreter. We rejoice in the success which you have so richly won by your wise policies and by personal contacts with the great leaders of other countries. The world waits eagerly and anxiously, for the elimination of fear and tension; and will bless you for your notable lead in the cause of international peace."

Shri Nehru who looked so moved said wherever he went he was warmly received because he was the representative of a great country which had peace as its desire and stood for peace. Throughout his tour of Soviet Union and European countries, he said, he was representing the people of India inhabiting this ancient Land. Addressing a distinguished gathering of 1,000 citizens at a hangar at the airport, decorated for the reception, the Prime Minister said: "I am overwhelmed by this great affection; you have made me your captive. I am happy to be back in my motherland and see old and familiar faces and my countrymen."



Nehru embracing Pant on his coming back.



Home Minister Pant affectionately embracing the Prime Minister Nehru as he landed at Palam after his triumphant tour of Russia and Europe.

Shri Nehru said when he went abroad five weeks ago, he had no "special mission. But I had a great deal of talks with the leaders of other nations during my tour. It is a fact that wherever I went I learnt from others. I have benefited from this tour." The Prime Minister said he had been asking himself the question why he had been given such great reception wherever he went abroad. What was the importance of his visit? He attributed the great receptions he received in the various countries to the respect these countries had for India. He was there as the representative of India and the symbol and spirit of India. It was as such that these nations had respected him. "It is very clear throughout my tour". Shri Nehru said, "that there was nothing personal in the welcome. It was a respect shown to India".

The Prime Minister said every nation and the people of every town he visited wanted peace. They did not want war and they were unanimous in desiring that the heat and tension of this world should be reduced and finally eliminated. As he was speaking, the crowd waiting outside the hangar shouted "Jawaharlal ki jai" and demanded that Shri Nehru should come out and give them his "Darshan". Finding it impossible to continue his speech as the noise outside increased, the Prime Minister ended his speech abruptly and left by car for Raj Bhavan.

Shri Nehru, left Bombay for Delhi by a special I. A. F. Dakota. He stayed over-night at the Raj Bhavan and arrived at the Santa Cruz airport in an open Sedan car accompanied by the Governor of Bombay, Dr. H. K. Mahatab, and the Chief Minister Mr. Morarji Desai. All along the 13-mile route from the Raj Bhavan to the aerodrome a huge crowd, majority of whom were children, had lined up the streets from early morning and lustily cheered as Shri Nehru's car speeded through. The children who were anxious to have a glimpse of the Prime Minister, shouted repeatedly "Nehru Chacha Zindabad."

Shri Nehru looking fresh and cheerful, spent ten minutes on the tarmac, gaily chatting with those who had come to see him off. They included Mr. N. C. Pupala, Mayor of Bombay Mr. S. K. Patil, President of the BPCC, Mr. M. D. Bhansali, Chief Secretary to the Bombay Government, Dr. M. J. Bhabha, Secretary of the Union Government's Atomic Energy Commission, Chiefs of Services in Bombay, Mr. K. D. Billimoria, Bombay's new Police Commissioner, Mr. Santokh Singh, Controller of Aerodromes, Western Region, and R. W. Dugal, Santa Cruz Aerodrome officer. He had five minutes' private talk with

Dr. Bhabha. He then bade good-bye to all and boarded the aircraft which took off at 8-20 a. m. Those accompanying him were Mr. N. R. Pillai, Secretary-General of the Union External Affairs Ministry, and his private secretary.

## REACHES DELHI :

When the plane bringing Shri Nehru taxied to a stop at Palam airport on July 13, the fence holding the people back collapsed due to pressure of the huge crowd that had gathered to give warm welcome to their beloved leader. The enthusiastic crowd then broke through all the barriers at the airport to see the "Conquering Hero" at close range who just returned from a Pilgrimage of Peace after five weeks—the longest absence from his country after it attained independence. Even the VIPs were so engulfed by the surging crowds that they found it difficult to garland and embrace him. Garlands and flowers were thrown at him by hundreds of cheering citizen after he was received by the President Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant and others. Protocol broke down completely and many Cabinet Ministers and service chiefs were surrounded by rushing crowds in the sultry sun.

From the morning the people had been assembling there by bus, taxi and cycle-rickshaw to give the returning Prime Minister a hero's welcome. As the control tower went on broadcasting the location of the Prime Minister's plane and the exact time of the arrival, the enthusiasm of the crowd mounted. From 12-15 p. m., half an hour before the plane landed, nothing else could be heard at the airport except cries of "Jawaharlal Zindabad". As the aircraft touched down, the crowds broke through, upsetting all police and protocol arrangements. Shri Nehru stepped out of the aircraft with a happy smile and found himself almost immediately in the thick of the crowd. The distinguished guests, heads of diplomatic missions, Cabinet Ministers, Congress leaders and other dignitaries and members of Parliament—who stood apart in a line were all caught up in the jostling, pushing, and cheering crowd. Among them were Vice-President Doctor S. Radhakrishnan, and the three chiefs of staff. Half a dozen policemen and spectators fainted and were carried to nearby trees for shelter.

The usual presentation of the Prime Minister to the diplomats, Cabinet Ministers and other prominent personalities assembled to greet him was given up; for after the crowds with shouts of "Jawaharlal Nehru Zindabad," surged around



Shri Jawaharlal Nehru talking with Mr. Krishnamchari, at a reception held in his honour after his triumphant tour of Russia and Europe, by Shri Pant, Union Minister for Home Affairs.



Shri Nehru receiving enthusiastic welcome on his return at Delhi.

## PILGRIMAGE FOR PEACE

the aircraft and into the 'shamiana', observance of the usual formalities was out of question. With great difficulty the President's Military Secretary and aides cleared the way for Dr. Rajendra Prasad to proceed to the gangway and embrace Shri Nehru in affectionate welcome. Shri Nehru had to decoy the crowds in another direction to enable the President to find his way back to his car. He then jumped on to a jeep and drove through the crowd, smilingly acknowledging their vociferous greetings.

Many among the crowd who had brought garlands for the Prime Minister could only throw them at him while he drove past. The Prime Minister threw them back to children. Special songs of welcome to Shri Nehru sung by a group of women, organised by the New Delhi Municipal Committee were drowned in the uproarious welcome at the airport. While cameramen had a field day, pressmen whom the Prime Minister always meets at the airport were disappointed. With great difficulty Shri Nehru reached All India Radio recording unit in the 'shamiana' and said a few words: "I am glad to be back in Delhi and thank you for this great reception. But you have spoiled a part of my happiness by this uproar and confusion. I have lot to say to you. I shall do so at the appropriate moment. Now, I thank you for your love and affection" The crowds began to melt after Shri Nehru drove off to his residence from the airport. The Prime Minister, however, was back at his desk in the External Affairs Ministry shortly after his return to the capital. He met his Cabinet colleagues and other senior officials who called on him.

### GREATEST HONOUR :

President Rajendra Prasad conferred on July, 15, the Bharat Ratna—the highest award of honour in the gift of the nation—on Prime Minister Nehru for his "heroic endeavour in the cause of peace for mankind." Conferment of the award which climaxed the unprecedented welcome Shri Nehru has received since his triumphant tour of the Soviet Union and East European countries, was announced at a banquet given at Rashtrapati Bhavan in honour of the Prime Minister. Following is the full text of the President's speech :—

"We have assembled this evening to express our joy at the safe return of our Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, from a strenuous tour in different countries of Europe. I am grateful to Your Excellencies for responding to my invitation at short notice. We have followed with avidity and eagerness the news

of the splendid welcome which has been extended to our Prime Minister by the Governments and peoples of the various countries which he visited. It shows, as our Prime Minister has said, the high esteem in which our country is held by the great countries of the world.

"We are an ancient country but a very young republic, and it is a matter of gratification to us to know how its activities and policy for the establishment and maintenance of peace are being appreciated and how they have raised our honour and prestige. We hold and believe that peace is necessary for the welfare and prosperity of all peoples of the world, and more so in this age of great scientific achievements and invention of weapons which have left before humanity the choice between renunciation of war and total destruction of mankind. In upholding and supporting the cause of peace, we have been voicing in our own humble way the yearning of hundreds of millions of men and women all the world over, and no wonder our Prime Minister, who has been the chief architect of that policy of ours in this age, has been the recipient of such ovations.

"I have been wondering how the people of this country can express their gratitude to him in a concrete form so that all might see how the entire nation is behind him in this great endeavour. His life-long services to our nation are written in letters of gold in every page of our recent history, and this is the latest phase in his great career, as a heroic endeavour in the cause of peace for mankind, has served to embellish gold or, as our proverb says, added more beauty and charm to it by giving it a sweet scent.

"I have felt that I can do no better than conferring on him the award of Bharat Ratna which is the highest award of honour that we have. In doing so, for once I may be said to be acting unconstitutionally, as I am taking this step on my own initiative and without any recommendation or advice from my Prime Minister, but I know that my action will be endorsed most enthusiastically not only by my Cabinet and other Ministers but by the country as a whole.

"I would request you all to join me in wishing him many happy years of health and vigour so that he may serve still more his country and world at large".

In a voice choked with emotion, the Prime Minister thanked the President for the award and the kind words said about him. He said that for the honour that had been done to him, he did not "know how to thank and whom to thank. It is difficult for me to find words to express my feelings. We are trying and go on trying to our last breath and do whatever lies in our power to bring about peace in the world."